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REPORT

ON

“The Star-Spangled Banner”  
“Hail Columbia”  
“America”  
“Yankee Doodle”

COMPILED BY

OSCAR GEORGE THEODORE SONNECK  
CHIEF OF THE DIVISION OF MUSIC



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## PREFATORY NOTE

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In December, 1907, I received instructions from the Librarian of Congress to "bring together the various versions both of text and of music with notes as to the historical evolution" of "The Star-Spangled Banner," "Hail Columbia," "America," and "Yankee Doodle." The report was to be brief and light of touch, but accurate enough for practical purposes. This task would have been comparatively easy had the literature on the subject been reliable. Unfortunately it crumbled under the slightest critical pressure, and it became imperative to devote more research and more analytical and synthetic thought to the report than had seemed advisable at first. This and the fact that the report had to be compiled without neglect of current duties accounts for the delay in submitting it.

In form the report is frankly not a history of the subject, such as one would write for popular consumption. Rather, in this report data are collected, eliminated, or verified; popular theories founded on these data are analyzed, their refutation or acceptance is suggested, and, of course, some theories of my own are offered for critical consideration. All this is done in such a form that the reader is at no step supposed to find a locked door between himself and the argument. He is not supposed to accept a single statement of fact or argument unless the evidence submitted compels him to do so. This *plein air* treatment of a popular theme distinguishes the report somewhat from the bulk of the literature on the subject. In short, though not intended for popular consumption, it may be used for popular consumption with reasonable assurance of accuracy.

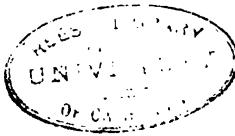
O. G. SONNECK  
*Chief, Music Division*

HERBERT PUTNAM

*Librarian of Congress*

*Washington, D. C., August, 1909*





## THE STAR-SPANGLED BANNER

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Opinions differ widely on the merits of "The Star-Spangled Banner" as a national song. Some critics fail to see in Francis Scott Key's inspired lines poetry of more than patriotic value. Some look upon it merely as a flag song, a military song, but not as a national hymn. Some criticize the melody for its excessive range, but others see no defects in "The Star-Spangled Banner" and feel not less enthusiastic over its esthetic merits as a national song than over its sincere patriotic sentiment. This controversy will be decided, whether rightly or wrongly, by the American people regardless of critical analysis, legislative acts, or naive efforts to create national songs by prize competition. This report does not concern itself at all with such quasi esthetic problems, nor is it here the place to trace the political history of "The Star-Spangled Banner" beyond what is necessary for the understanding of its history as a national song.

As has been well known for a long time, the first though brief account of the origin of "The Star-Spangled Banner" appeared in the Baltimore American on September 21, 1814, under the heading of:

### DEFENCE OF FORT M'HENRY.

The annexed song was composed under the following circumstances: A gentleman had left Baltimore, in a flag of truce for the purpose of getting released from the British fleet a friend of his who had been captured at Marlborough. He went as far as the mouth of the Patuxent, and was not permitted to return lest the intended attack on Baltimore should be disclosed. He was therefore brought up the Bay to the mouth of the Patapsco, where the flag vessel was kept under the guns of a frigate, and he was compelled to witness the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, which the Admiral had boasted that he would carry in a few hours, and that the city must fall. He watched the flag at the fort through the whole day with an anxiety that can be better felt than described, until the night prevented him from seeing it. In the night he watched the Bomb Shells, and at early dawn his eye was again greeted by the proudly waving flag of his country.

This account is followed by the text of Key's poem without special title, but with the indication: "Tune: Anacreon in Heaven."

As this account was printed almost immediately after the events therein described took place, and were in every reader's memory, the newspaper editor, of course, omitted specific dates, but it is a matter of history that the gallant defense of Fort McHenry under Major Armistead began on the morning of Tuesday, September 13, and lasted until the early hours of September 14, 1814. The gentleman

is, of course, Francis Scott Key, and either his own modesty or an editorial whim kept his authorship from the public.

The first detailed and authentic account of the origin of "The Star-Spangled Banner" practically came from Francis Scott Key himself, who narrated it shortly after the British designs on Baltimore failed, to his brother-in-law, Mr. R. B. Taney, subsequently Chief Justice of our Supreme Court. When in 1856 Mr. Henry V. D. Jones edited the "Poems of the Late Francis S. Key, Esq. . . ." (New York, 1857), Chief Justice Taney contributed Key's version from memory, in an introductory "letter . . . narrating the incidents connected with the origin of the song 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'" This interesting narrative has been made the basis of all subsequent accounts. Its substance is this: When, after the battle of Bladensburg, the main body of the British army had passed through the town of Upper Marlborough, some stragglers, who had left the ranks to plunder or from some other motive, made their appearance from time to time, singly or in small squads, and a Doctor Beanes, who had previously been very hospitable to the British officers "put himself at the head of a small body of citizens to pursue and make prisoners" of the stragglers. Information of this proceeding reached the British and Doctor Beanes was promptly seized. The British "did not seem to regard him, and certainly did not treat him, as a prisoner of war, but as one who had deceived and broken his faith to them." Doctor Beanes was the leading physician of his town and so highly respected that the news of his imprisonment filled his friends with alarm. They "hastened to the head-quarters of the English army to solicit his release, but it was peremptorily refused," and they were informed that he had been carried as a prisoner on board the fleet. Francis Scott Key happened also to be one of the Doctor's intimate friends, and as Mr. Key, just then a volunteer in Major Peter's Light Artillery, but a lawyer by profession, was a resident of Georgetown, which means practically Washington, the other friends requested him—

to obtain the sanction of the government to his going on board the admiral's ship under a flag of truce and endeavoring to procure the release of Dr. Beanes, before the fleet sailed.

. . . Mr. Key readily agreed to undertake the mission in his favor, and the President [Madison] promptly gave his sanction to it. Orders were immediately issued to the vessel usually employed as a cartel [the *Minden*] in the communications with the fleet in the Chesapeake to be made ready without delay; and Mr. John S. Skinner, who was agent for the government for flags of truce and exchange of prisoners, and who was well known as such to the officers of the fleet, was directed to accompany Mr. Key. And as soon as the arrangements were made, he hastened to Baltimore, where the vessel was, to embark; . . .

We heard nothing from him until the enemy retreated from Baltimore, which, as well as I can now recollect, was a week or ten days after he left us; and we were becoming uneasy about him, when, to our great joy, he made his appearance at my house, on his way to join his family.

He told me that he found the British fleet, at the mouth of the Potomac, preparing for the expedition against Baltimore. He was courteously received by Admiral Cochrane, and the officers of the army, as well as the navy. But when he made known his business, his application was received so coldly, that he feared he would fail. General Ross and Admiral Cockburn—who accompanied the expedition to Washington—particularly the latter, spoke of Dr. Beanes, in very harsh terms, and seemed at first not disposed to release him. It, however, happened, fortunately, that Mr. Skinner carried letters from the wounded British officers left at Bladensburg; and in these letters to their friends on board the fleet, they all spoke of the humanity and kindness with which they had been treated after they had fallen into our hands. And after a good deal of conversation, and strong representations from Mr. Key, as to the character and standing of Dr. Beanes, and of the deep interest which the community in which he lived, took in his fate, General Ross said that Dr. Beanes deserved much more punishment than he had received; but that he felt himself bound to make a return for the kindness which had been shown to his wounded officers, whom he had been compelled to leave at Bladensburg; and upon that ground, and that only, he would release him. But Mr. Key was at the same time informed that neither he, nor any one else, would be permitted to leave the fleet for some days; and must be detained until the attack on Baltimore, which was then about to be made, was over. But he was assured that they would make him and Mr. Skinner, as comfortable as possible, while they detained him. Admiral Cochrane, with whom they dined on the day of their arrival, apologized for not accommodating them on his own ship, saying that it was crowded already with officers of the army; but that they would be well taken care of in the frigate *Surprise*, commanded by his son, Sir Thomas Cochrane. And to this frigate, they were accordingly transferred.

Mr. Key had an interview with Dr. Beanes, before General Ross consented to release him. I do not recollect whether he was on board the admiral's ship, or the *Surprise*, but I believe it was the former. He found him in the forward part of the ship, among the sailors and soldiers; he had not had a change of clothes from the time he was seized; was constantly treated with indignity by those around him, and no officer would speak to him. He was treated as a culprit, and not as a prisoner of war. And this harsh and humiliating treatment continued until he was placed on board the cartel . . .

Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner continued on board of the *Surprise*, where they were very kindly treated by Sir Thomas Cochrane, until the fleet reached the Patapsco, and preparations were making for landing the troops. Admiral Cochrane then shifted his flag to the frigate, in order that he might be able to move further up the river, and superintend in person, the attack by water, on the fort. And Mr. Key and Mr. Skinner were then sent on board their own vessel, with a guard of sailors, or marines, to prevent them from landing. They were permitted to take Dr. Beanes with them and they thought themselves fortunate in being anchored in a position which enabled them to see distinctly the flag of Fort M'Henry from the deck of the vessel. He proceeded then with much animation to describe the scene on the night of the bombardment. He and Mr. Skinner remained on deck during the night, watching every shell, from the moment it was fired, until it fell, listening with breathless interest to hear if an explosion followed. While the bombardment continued, it was sufficient proof that the fort had not surrendered. But it suddenly ceased some time before day; and as they had no communication with any of the enemy's ships, they did not know whether the fort had surrendered, or the attack upon it been abandoned. They paced the deck for the residue of the night in painful suspense, watching with intense anxiety for the return of day, and looking every few minutes at their watches, to see how long they must wait for it; and as soon as it dawned, and before it was light enough to see objects at a distance,

their glasses were turned to the fort, uncertain whether they should see there the stars and stripes, or the flag of the enemy. At length the light came, and they saw that "our flag was still there." And as the day advanced, they discovered, from the movements of the boats between the shore and the fleet, that the troops had been roughly handled, and that many wounded men were carried to the ships. At length he was informed that the attack on Baltimore had failed, and the British army was re-embarking, and that he and Mr. Skinner, and Dr. Beanes would be permitted to leave them, and go where they pleased, as soon as the troops were on board, and the fleet ready to sail.

He then told me that, under the excitement of the time, he had written a song, and handed me a printed copy of "The Star Spangled Banner." When I had read it, and expressed my admiration, I asked him how he found time, in the scenes he had been passing through, to compose such a song? He said he commenced it on the deck of their vessel, in the fervor of the moment, when he saw the enemy hastily retreating to their ships, and looked at the flag he had watched for so anxiously as the morning opened; that he had written some lines, or brief notes that would aid him in calling them to mind, upon the back of a letter which he happened to have in his pocket; and for some of the lines, as he proceeded, he was obliged to rely altogether on his memory; and that he finished it in the boat on his way to the shore, and wrote it out as it now stands, at the hotel, on the night he reached Baltimore, and immediately after he arrived. He said that on the next morning, he took it to Judge Nicholson, to ask him what he thought of it, that he was so much pleased with it, that he immediately sent it to a printer, and directed copies to be struck off in hand-bill form; and that he, Mr. Key, believed it to have been favorably received by the Baltimore public.

More than forty years had elapsed since Chief Justice Taney had heard this story for the first time from Francis Scott Key, and though it probably was modified or embellished in course of time, yet in substance it has the earmarks of authenticity. Exactly for this reason, if for no other, Chief Justice Taney's account furnished the foundation for all further accounts, but it should be noticed that the Chief Justice does not tell us anything beyond how the words came to be written, until struck off in handbill form. We do not learn when and under what circumstances the broadside was printed, how the poem was wedded to its music, or when and by whom the song was first read or sung. If certain writers do include such statements in their quotations from Taney's account, they certainly did not read Taney's introductory letter, but most probably copied their quotations from Admiral Preble, who indeed but carelessly attributes such statements to the Chief Justice. The data not contained in Taney's account had to be supplied by others, and it is very curious that instantly this part of the history of "The Star-Spangled Banner" became confused, whereas Chief Justice Taney's account remained unchallenged except in unimportant points, as for instance, the reasons for Doctor Beanes's arrest. Under this head Chief Justice Taney was rather vague; not so Mrs. Anna H. Dorsey, who in the Washington Sunday Morning Chronicle added some "lesser facts," which were reprinted in Dawson's Historical

Magazine, 1861, volume 5, pages 282-283. According to Mrs. Dorsey, Dr. William Beanes, the uncle of her mother, was celebrating with copious libations a rumored British defeat at Washington when "three foot-sore, dusty, and weary soldiers made their appearance on the scene in quest of water." Somewhat under the influence of the excellent punch, Doctor Beanes and his friends made them prisoners of war, and very naturally, the British resented this, to say the least, indiscreet act. The Beanes-Dorsey family tradition is given here for all it is worth, but if correct, then it would be a singular coincidence that an English drinking song called "To Anacreon in Heaven" furnished the melody for a poem which had its root in an event inspired by Bacchus. Indeed Doctor Beanes and his friends might have been voicing their sentiments "To Anacreon in Heaven."

Different is the account written by Mr. F. S. Key Smith for the Republic Magazine, 1908, April, pages 10-20, on "Fort McHenry and 'The Star-Spangled Banner.'" According to Mr. Smith, a party of marauding stragglers came into the Doctor's garden and intruded themselves upon him and his little company. "Elated over their supposed victory of the day previous, of which the Doctor and his friends had heard nothing," says Mr. Smith, "they were boisterous, disorderly, and insolent, and upon being ordered to leave the premises became threatening. Whereupon, at the instance of Doctor Beanes and his friends, they were arrested by the town authorities and lodged in the Marlborough jail."

This version, too, is quoted here for all it is worth; but it should be noted that throughout this article, dealing elaborately only with the political history of Key's poem, Mr. Smith is conspicuously silent about his authorities, thus preventing critical readers from accepting his statements without skepticism. A case in point is his continuation of Chief Justice Taney's narrative:

He [Judge Nicholson, also Key's brother-in-law] took it [the draft of the song] to the printing office of Captain Benjamin Edee on North Street near the corner of Baltimore street, but the Captain not having returned from duty with the Twenty-Sixth Maryland Regiment, his office was closed, and Judge Nicholson proceeded to the newspaper office of the Baltimore American and Commercial Daily Advertiser, where the words were set in type by Samuel Sands, an apprentice at the time. . . . Copies of the song were struck off in handbill form, and promiscuously distributed on the street. Catching with popular favor like prairie fire it spread in every direction, was read and discussed, until, in less than an hour, the news was all over the city. Picked up by a crowd assembled about Captain McCauley's tavern, next to the Holiday Street Theater, where two brothers Charles and Ferdinand Durang, musicians and actors, were stopping, the latter mounted a chair, and rendered it in fine style to a large assemblage.

On the evening of the same day that Mr. Charles [!] Durang first sang "The Star Spangled Banner," it was again rendered upon the stage of the Holliday Street Theater by an actress, and the theater is said to have gained thereby a national reputation. In less than a week it had reached New Orleans [!]. . .

This is merely the hastily concocted and uncritically diluted essence of previous articles, including that by Taney. It will be more profitable to turn to the very few original accounts than to dissect or even pay much attention to the second-hand compilations from these original sources, no matter how spirited or otherwise attractive they may be.

One C. D., in the Historical Magazine of 1864, volume 8, pages 347–348, has this to say:

One of your correspondents inquires in what form the song of the *Star Spangled Banner* was first printed? I think that in the *History of the Philadelphia Stage* you will find that subject clearly explained. The song was first printed and put upon the press by Captain Edes, of Baltimore, who belonged to Colonel Long's Twenty-Seventh Regiment of militia. He kept his printing office at the corner of Baltimore and Gay Streets. It was given him by the author, Mr. Key, of Washington, in its amended form, after the battle of North Point, about the latter end of September 1814. The original draft, with its interlineations and amendatory erasures, etc. was purchased by the late Gen. George Keim, of Reading, and I suppose his heirs have it now. It was printed on a small piece of paper in the style of our old ballads that were wont to be hawked about the streets in days of yore. It was first sung by about twenty volunteer soldiers in front of the Holliday Street Theater, who used to congregate at the adjoining tavern to get their early mint juleps. Ben. Edes brought it round to them on one of those libating mornings or matinees. I was one of the group. My brother sang it. We all formed the chorus. This is its history . . .

The reference to the "History of the Philadelphia Stage" and to "My brother" immediately implies the identity of this C. D. with Charles Durang, brother of Ferdinand Durang (both actors), and joint author, or, rather, editor of his father John's, "History of the Philadelphia Stage," published serially in the Philadelphia Sunday Dispatch, 1854–55. Consequently we have here the testimony of a contemporary earwitness. A few years later, in 1867, Col. John L. Warner read before the Pennsylvania Historical Society a paper on "The Origin of the American National Anthem called 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" and this paper was printed in the Historical Magazine, 1867, Volume II, pages 279–280. As will be seen from the following quotation, it does not contradict Charles Durang's account, but merely supplements it. Says Colonel Warner:

It was first sung when fresh from his [Captain Benjamin Edes'] press, at a small frame one-story house, occupied as a tavern next to the Holiday Street Theatre.

This tavern had long been kept by the widow Berling, and then by a Colonel MacConkey, a house where the players "most did congregate," with the quid nuncs of that day, to do honor to, and to prepare for, the daily military drills in Gay Street, (for every able man was then a soldier;) and here came, also, Captain Benjamin Edes, of the Twenty-seventh Regiment; Captain Long and Captain Thomas Warner, of the Thirty-ninth Regiment, and Major Frailey. Warner was a silversmith of good repute in that neighborhood.

It was the latter end of September, 1814, when a lot of the young volunteer defenders of the Monumental City was thus assembled. Captain Edes and Cap-

tain Thomas Warner came early along one morning and forthwith called the group (quite merry with the British defeat) to order, to listen to a patriotic song which the former had just struck off at his press. He then read it to all the young volunteers there assembled, who greeted each verse with hearty shouts. It was then suggested that it should be sung; but who was able to sing it? Ferdinand Durang, who was a soldier in the cause and known to be a vocalist, being among the group, was assigned the task of vocalising this truly inspired patriotic hymn of the lamented Key. The old air of "Anacreon in Heaven" had been adapted to it by the author, and Mr. Edes was desired so to print it on the top of the ballad.

Its solemn melody and impressive notes seem naturally allied to the poetry, and speak emphatically the musical taste and judgement of Mr. Key. Ferdinand Durang mounted an old-fashioned rush-bottomed chair, and sang this admirable national song for the first time in our Union, the chorus to each verse being re-echoed by those present with infinite harmony of voices. It was thus sung several times during the morning. When the theatre was opened by Warren and Wood, it was sung nightly, after the play, by Paddy McFarland and the company.

So far the historian would have plain sailing, but his troubles begin with an article written for Harper's Magazine, 1871, volume 43, pages 254-258, by Mrs. Nellie Eyster, as appears from the printed index. Under the title of "'The Star-Spangled Banner:' An hour with an octogenarian," she reports an interview held on November 20, 1870, with Mr. Hendon, of Frederick, Md., who knew Francis Scott Key personally as a boy and who moved in 1809 to Lancaster, Pa., whence both the Durangs hailed. Together with Charles and Ferdinand Durang he belonged to the Pennsylvania Volunteer Militia, which on August 1, 1814, left Harrisburg in defense of Baltimore, but, remembers Mr. Hendon, they "marched to the seat of war three days after the battle had been won," and with special reference to the defense of Fort McHenry he "was chafing like a caged tiger because [he] was not in it." He further says that "they remained upon Gallows Hill, near Baltimore, for three months, daily waiting for an enemy that never came. Then, for the first time since leaving York [Pa.], [they] took breathing time and looked about for amusement." Follows what Admiral George Henry Preble called a more fanciful version than Warner's account when he copied Mr. Hendon's words for a footnote (p. 494) in the chapter on "Our National Songs" (pp. 490-511) in the first edition (Albany, 1872) of his industrious and popular compilation, "Our Flag."

"Have you heard Francis Key's poem?" said one of our men, coming in one evening, as we lay scattered over the green hill near the captain's marquee. It was a rude copy, and written in a scrawl which Horace Greeley might have mistaken for his own. He read it aloud, once, twice, three times, until the entire division seemed electrified by its pathetic eloquence.

An idea seized Ferd. Durang. Hunting up a volume of flute music, which was in somebody's tent, he impatiently whistled snatches of tune after tune, just as they caught his quick eye. One, called "Anacreon in Heaven", (I have played it often for it was in my book that he found it), struck his fancy and

rivetted his attention. Note after note fell from his puckered lips until, with a leap and shout, he exclaimed "Boys, I've hit it!" and fitting the tune to the words, they sang out for the first time the song of the Star Spangled Banner. How the men shouted and clapped, for never was there a wedding of poetry to music made under such inspiring influences! Getting a brief furlough, the brothers [!!] sang it in public soon after . . .

In the second edition of his work (1880), then called "History of the Flag of the United States of America," Admiral Preble reprinted this *fanciful* story, together with the Charles Durang and Colonel Warner account, but again without the slightest attempt at critical comparison and apparently without noticing that we do not have to deal here with more or less fanciful differences, but with reminiscent accounts that exclude each other. What subsequent writers contributed in this vein to the literature on "The Star-Spangled Banner" may be disregarded since they merely paraphrased with more or less accuracy what they found in Preble or in his sources, as for instance, when one writer in the American Historical Record, 1873, volume 2, pages 24-25, carelessly mentions Charles instead of Ferdinand Durang as the first singer of "The Star-Spangled Banner." However, a belated version with fanciful variations of the main theme should be noticed, as it was printed sometime in 1897 in the Philadelphia Ledger and from there reprinted in substance in the Iowa Historical Record, July, 1897, page 144. According to this, "the second day after the words were written, Ferdinand Durang was rummaging in his trunk in a tavern in Baltimore, where he had his baggage, for music to suit the words, and finally selected that of 'Anacreon in Heaven.' By the time he had sung the third verse, in trying the music to the words, the little tavern was full of people, who spontaneously joined in the chorus. The company was soon joined by the author of the words, Francis Scott Key, to whom the tune was submitted for approval, who also took up the refrain of the chorus, thus indorsing the music. A few nights afterward 'The Star-Spangled Banner' being called for by the audience at the Holliday Street Theater, in Baltimore, Ferdinand Durang sang it from the stage. Durang died in New York in 1832. Durang had a brother, Charles, also a soldier in the 'Blues,' who was likewise an actor, who died in Philadelphia in 1875. . . ."

Finally an account deserves to be reprinted here in part, because it mentioned the person who set Key's poem in type, though otherwise the lines quoted are not overly accurate, as the reader of the Taney letter will notice. It appeared in the Baltimore American on September 12, 1872, together with a facsimile of the article, etc., of September 21, 1814, and reads in part:

We have placed at the head of this article this now immortal national song just as it first saw the light in print fifty-eight years ago . . . This song, as the

form in which it is given shows, was published anonymously. The poet, Francis Scott Key, was too modest to announce himself, and it was some time after its appearance that he became known as its author . . . Mr. Skinner chanced to meet Mr. Key on the flag-of-truce boat, obtained from him a copy of his song, and he furnished the manuscript to "The American" after the fight was over. It was at once put in type and published. It was also printed in slips and extensively circulated. The "printer's boy," then employed in the office of "The American," who put this song in type, survives in full vigor, our respected friend, the editor and publisher of the "American Farmer," Samuel Sands, Esq.

That to Ferdinand Durang belongs the honor of having first sung ✓ Key's poem is unanimously asserted (except by those who confuse him with his brother Charles), but it remains an open question when — and where he might so have done. On this point, the two earwitnesses, Charles Durang and Mr. Hendon, disagree. According to the reminiscences of the latter, the event must have happened at least three months after September 14 in camp on Gallows Hill near Baltimore. Now, it has already been mentioned that the brief account of the circumstances leading to the writing of Key's poem printed in the Baltimore American on September 21, preceded the full text of the poem under the heading "Defence of Fort M'Henry" with the remark "Tune: Anacreon in Heaven." It may be that Mr. Hendon heard Ferdinand Durang sing the hymn in camp after September 21, but it stands to reason that at least as early as September 21 other vocally inclined readers of the Baltimore American enjoyed the combination of Key's "Defence of Fort M'Henry," and the tune "To Anacreon in Heaven." If we possessed no other contemporary evidence, Ferdinand Durang's claims would rest upon very shaky grounds indeed, nor is the rest of Mr. Hendon's story at all of a nature as to inspire reliance upon his memory. Mr. Elson in his "National Music of America" (p. 202) bluntly expressed his suspicion to the effect that "never was a bolder or more fantastical claim set up in musical history," and every musician will agree with him that the "puckered lips" and the frantic hunt for a suitable tune in a volume of flute music is sheer journalistic nonsense, which verdict applies also to the Philadelphia Ledger account. And his hunt for a melody happened three months after the tune, to which the words were to keep company, had been publicly announced!

The suspicious character of Mr. Hendon's long-distance reminiscences leaves those of Charles Durang to stand on their own merits, but unfortunately they do not help us in fixing the exact date of the first performance of "The Star-Spangled Banner." Charles Durang merely remembered having been one of the chorus when his brother Ferdinand and about twenty volunteer soldiers who used to congregate at the adjoining tavern in the morning first sang the song after Ben. Edes brought it round to them on *one* of those libating

mornings. This may have been the morning of September 15, when Samuel Sands, the apprentice, is popularly supposed to have set the poem as a broadside, or any other morning, including a morning after September 21, when the poem had appeared with indication of the tune in the Baltimore American. Nor is Colonel Warner's account, who perhaps was a descendant of Capt. Thomas Warner, which possibility would give his account the strength of a family tradition, more explicit on this point. At this tavern, it being a southern September morning, may mean practically the same as in Charles Durang's version, in front of the adjoining Holliday Street Theater. There Captain Edes, in company of Capt. Thomas Warner, is said to have called the attention of the group of volunteers "to a patriotic song which [he] had just struck off at his press." Consequently, neither Durang nor Warner substantiate the popular version that Ferdinand Durang sang "*The Star-Spangled Banner*" for the first time on September 15, 1814. Nor do they even substantiate the universally accepted theory that the broadside was struck off Edes's press on September 15! Indeed, not even Key-Taney's report: "Judge Nicholson . . . immediately sent it [the manuscript] to a printer, and directed copies to be struck off in hand-bill form," necessarily implies the conclusion that they were struck off on the morning of September 15. At any rate, the story that Key's poem was taken to a printer, set as a broadside, distributed about town, read, discussed, sung with great gusto, etc., and all this on the morning of September 15, 1814, belongs to the realm of unwholesome fiction!

On the evening of September 15 "*The Star-Spangled Banner*," says Mr. F. S. Key Smith, was "rendered upon the stage of the Holliday Street Theater by an actress." Also Ferdinand Durang is mentioned in this connection by some writers, and others proffer other names. What are the facts? In the first place, the suspicions of the historians should have been aroused by the observation that the actor-manager, Wood, in his autobiography does not mention any theatrical performances at Baltimore in September, 1814. In the second place, if they had consulted the Baltimore papers of that period, such as the Federal Gazette, Baltimore Patriot, Baltimore American—none of which was published, by the way, by Benjamin Edes!—they would have found no theatrical performances announced in September, 1814, at all, but they would have found a notice in the Federal Gazette, September 20, to the effect that "about 600 Pennsylvania troops arrived yesterday," among them a Lancaster company, apparently the very militia troops to which Ferdinand Durang belonged. Not only this, the historians would further have found from the same source that the *theater was not opened until October 12, 1814*. No reference to "*The Star-Spangled Banner*" appears in the announcements of this evening or of the benefit performance on October 14

"to aid the fund for the defence of the city," unless hidden away on the benefit program as "a patriotic epilogue by Mrs. Mason." On this evening Ferdinand Durang *did* appear—dancing a "military horn-pipe." With a little patience the historians at last would have found in the announcement of the historical play "Count Benyowski" for Wednesday evening, October 19, 1814 (in the Baltimore American — appears October 15 as a misprint), the following lines, which at last shed the light of fact on the whole matter:

After the play, Mr. Harding [the Federal Gazette spells the name Hardinge] will sing a much admired *New Song*, written by a gentleman of Maryland, in commemoration of the GALLANT DEFENCE OF FORT M'HENRY, called, THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER. . . .

The rather immaterial question of whether or not and when and where Ferdinand Durang possibly sang "The Star-Spangled Banner" for the first time leads up to the much more important question: How came the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven," and no other, to be wedded to Key's poem? Chief Justice Taney, as anybody can see and as all should have seen before rushing into print with their stories, is absolutely silent on this point. So is Charles Durang. Colonel Warner says:

The old air of Anacreon in Heaven had been adapted to it by the author, and Mr. Edes was desired so to print it on to the top of the ballad.

The most reliable reports, therefore, do not mention Ferdinand Durang at all in this connection. He figures as musical godfather to "The Star-Spangled Banner" in the journalistic reports only and under rather suspicious circumstances. However, there exists another and different version. Mrs. Rebecca Lloyd Shippen, of Baltimore, a granddaughter of Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson and a greatniece of Francis Scott Key, contributed to the Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography, 1901-2, volume 25, pages 427-428, an article on "The Original Manuscript of 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" of which more will have to be said further on. In this article we read:

Judge Nicholson wrote a little piece that appears at the heading of the lines, above which he also wrote the name of the tune "Anacreon in Heaven"—a tune which Mrs. Charles Howard, the daughter of Francis Scott Key, told me was a common one at that day—and Judge Nicholson, being a musician among his other accomplishments and something of a poet, no doubt took but a few minutes to see that the lines given him by Francis Scott Key could be sung to that tune, and, in all haste to give the lines as a song to the public, he thus marked it. I possess this rare original manuscript, kept carefully folded by his wife, Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson, and taken from her private papers by myself [Mrs. Shippen] and framed.

Judge Nicholson's part in the history of "The Star-Spangled Banner" was narrated in substantially the same manner in editorial footnotes to an article on "The Star-Spangled Banner," copied largely from Chief Justice Taney by Mrs. Shippen, for the Pennsylvania

Magazine of History and Biography, 1898-99, volume 22, pages 321-325. It follows that the editor was either inspired by Mrs. Shippen or Mrs. Shippen by the editor. Careful reading of this particular part of the article implies that we have to deal here with a personal opinion, not with contemporary evidence, or even with a family tradition. Waiving aside for the present some doubts as to the accuracy of the story as quoted above, the main contention appears to be that Judge Nicholson supplied the tune. Light is shed on the whole matter if the history of the tune "To Anacreon in Heaven" in England and America is briefly summarized.

For a long time the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven" was attributed, if attributed to any composer at all, to Dr. Samuel Arnold (1740-1802). Of this opinion were J. C. (in Baltimore Clipper, 1841), Nason (1869), Salisbury (1872), and others. The general inability to substantiate this rumor finally led to one of the most grotesquely absurd articles in musical literature, namely that in the American Art Journal, 1896 (v. 68, pp. 194-195), by J. Fairfax McLaughlin, under the title "The Star-Spangled Banner! Who Composed the Music for It. It is American, not English." The Musical Times, of London, 1896 (pp. 516-519), immediately challenged Mr. McLaughlin's statements and elaborately buried his patriotic aspirations, though this service could have been rendered him just as neatly by a reference to Mr. William Chappell's article "The Star-Spangled Banner and To Anacreon in Heaven" in Notes and Queries, 1873, fourth series, volume 11, pages 50-51, or to the footnote on page 6 of Mr. Stephen Salisbury's "Essay on The Star-Spangled Banner," 1873, where the contents of a pertinent letter from Mr. William Chappell were made public.

In the following pages a combination is attempted of the data, so far as I could verify them in the articles by Chappell and X in the Musical Times with the data in Grove's Dictionary and elsewhere, adding to or deducting from this information the results of a correspondence with such esteemed British authors as Mr. Frank Kidson, Mr. William Barclay Squire, and Mr. W. H. Grattan Flood.

In his "Musical Memoirs" (1830, Vol. I, pp. 80-84) W. T. Parke entered under the year 1786 these entertaining lines:

This season I became an honorary member of the Anacreontic Society, and at the first meeting played a concerto on the oboe, as did Cramer on the violin. The assemblage of subscribers was as usual very numerous, amongst whom were several noblemen and gentlemen of the first distinction. Sir Richard Hankey (the banker) was the chairman. This fashionable society consisted of a limited number of members, each of whom had the privilege of introducing a friend, for which he paid in his subscription accordingly. The meetings were held in the great ball-room of the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, once a fortnight during the season, and the entertainments of the evening consisted of a grand concert, in which all the flower of the musical profession assisted as honorary members. After the concert an elegant supper was served up; and when the

cloth was removed, the constitutional song, beginning, "To Anacreon in Heaven," was sung by the chairman or his deputy. This was followed by songs in all the varied styles, by theatrical singers and the members, and catches and glee were given by some of the first vocalists in the kingdom. The late chairman, Mr. Mulso, possessed a good tenor voice, and sang the song alluded to with great effect . . .

This society, to become members of which noblemen and gentlemen would wait a year for a vacancy, was by an act of gallantry brought to a premature dissolution. The Duchess of Devonshire, the great leader of the *haut ton*, having heard the Anacreontic highly extolled, expressed a particular wish to some of its members to be permitted to be privately present to hear the concert, &c., which being made known to the directors, they caused the elevated orchestra occupied by the musicians at balls to be fitted up, with a lattice affixed to the front of it, for the accommodation of her grace and party, so that they could see, without being seen; but, some of the comic songs, not being exactly calculated for the entertainment of ladies, the singers were restrained; which displeasing many of the members, they resigned one after another; and a general meeting being called, the society was dissolved.

Misreading slightly Mr. Parke's reminiscences, C. M. in Grove's Dictionary claimed that Parke wrote of the dissolution of the club in 1786, which he, of course, did not do. Nor would the year 1786 be tenable, since Pohl in his scholarly book on "Mozart and Haydn in London," 1867 (v. 2, p. 107), gleaned from the Gazetteer of January 14, 1791, that Haydn was the guest of honor at the society's concert on January 12. Nor is Mr. Grattan Flood correct if he, in some "Notes on the Origin of 'To Anacreon in Heaven,'" sent me in June, 1908, dates the dissolution of the society 1796. (While fully appreciating the courtesy of Mr. W. H. Grattan Flood in transmitting these notes, I regret the inadvisability of using them, except in connection with other sources, because these notes are singularly at variance with the contents of several letters sent me by Mr. Grattan Flood on the same subject, and because these notes contain certain positive statements without reference to source which it would be unmethodical to accept unreservedly.) The "Musical Directory for the Year 1794" in the "List of various musical societies" states distinctly: "The Anacreontic Society which met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern, in the Strand, the festivities of which were heightened by a very Select Band." Consequently the society no longer existed in 1794. This is not at all contradicted by the entry under Dr. Samuel Arnold "Conductor at Acad[emy of Ancient Music], Anacreontic Society," because the title-page distinctly reads "musical societies of which they [the professors of music] are or have been, members." (To avoid confusion it may be here added that "To Anacreon in Heaven" is not contained in the "Anacreontic Songs for 1, 2, 3, & 4 voices composed and selected by Dr. Arnold and dedicated by permission to the Anacreontic Society," London, J. Bland, 1785.)

If it is now clear that the Anacreontic Society must have been dissolved between 1791 and 1794, the year of its foundation is not equally clear, and therefore it is a somewhat open question since when "To Anacreon in Heaven" can have been sung as the "constitutional" song of this society. Mr. Grattan Flood writes in his "Notes" mentioned above:

The words and music of "To Anacreon" were published by Longman and Broderip in 1779-1780, and were reprinted by Anne Lee of Dublin (?1780) in 1781. Dr. Cummings says that he saw a copy printed by Henry Fought—at least it is made up with single sheet songs printed by Fought—but this is scarcely likely, as Fought did not print after 1770, and the song and music were not in existence till 1770-71 . . .

Mr. William Barclay Squire in a letter dated September 21, 1908, refers to the dates of these two publications, which contain both the words and the music, in the guarded sentence, "Both are about 1780, but it is quite impossible to tell the exact dates." The Longman & Broderip edition is the one the title of which Mr. William Chappell transcribed for Notes and Queries, 1873:

The Anacreontic Song, as sung at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, the words by Ralph Tomlinson, Esq. late President of that Society. Printed by Longman and Broderip, No. 26 Cheapside, and No. 13 Heymarket.

With reference to Dr. William Cummings's statement that he saw a copy printed by Fought, I have not found any such statement by Doctor Cummings in print. Apparently Mr. Grattan Flood reported part of a conversation with the distinguished English scholar, but in reply to a pertinent inquiry Doctor Cummings sent, under date of November 7, 1908, this brief note:

I had a copy of Smith's "To Anacreon" pub.[lished] in 1771. I showed it at a public lecture, but cannot now find it. I have two copies of a little later date. The first named was a single sheet song.

Doctor Cummings evidently was not willing to commit his memory under the circumstances on the point of imprint, nor does he make it clear whether or no Smith's name appeared on the sheet song as that of the composer. Assuming that Doctor Cummings had every solid reason to date this, the earliest known issue, of "To Anacreon," 1771, it follows that words and music must have been written at the latest in 1771 and at the earliest in the year of foundation of the "Anacreontic Society," which is unfortunately unknown.

In 1786, according to Parke, the chairman of the society was Sir Richard Hankey, whose immediate predecessor seems to have been Mr. Mulso. About 1780 Ralph Tomlinson, esq., appears in the Longman & Broderip edition, as the "late President of the Society," and no other gentleman has yet been found to have preceded him in the chair. However, such biographical data are irrelevant for the present purpose, and attention might now profitably be called to "The Vocal

Magazine; or, British Songster's Miscellany" (London, 1778), in which are published on pages 147-148 as Song 566, without indication of the tune, as is the case with all the songs in the collection, the words of,

## ANACREONTIC SOCIETY.

Written by Ralph Tomlinson, Esq.

To Anacreon, in Heav'n, where he sat in full glee,  
A few sons of harmony sent a petition,  
That he their inspirer and patron would be;  
When this answer arriv'd from the jolly old Grecian—  
    Voice, fiddle, and flute,  
    No longer be mute;  
I'll lend ye my name, and inspire ye to boot:  
And, besides, I'll instruct ye, like me, to intwine  
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

The news through Olympus immediately flew;  
When old Thunder pretended to give himself airs—  
If these mortals are suffer'd their scheme to pursue,  
The devil a goddess will stay above stairs.  
    Hark! already they cry,  
    In transports of joy,  
A fig for Parnassus! to Rowley's we'll fly;  
And there, my good fellows, we'll learn to intwine  
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

The yellow-hair'd god, and his nine lusty maids,  
To the hill of old Lud will incontinent flee,  
Idalia will boast but of tenantless shades,  
And the biforked hill a mere desert will be.  
    My thunder, no fear on't,  
    Will soon do its errand,  
And, dam'me! I'll swinge the ringleaders, I warrant.  
I'll trim the young dogs, for thus daring to twine  
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

Apollo rose up; and said, Pr'ythee ne'er quarrel,  
Good king of the gods, with my vot'ries below!  
Your thunder is useless—then, shewing his laurel,  
Cry'd, *Sic evitabile fulmen*, you know!  
    Then over each head  
    My laurels I'll spread;  
So my sons from your crackers no mischief shall dread,  
Whilst snug in their club-room, they jovially twine  
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

Next Momus got up, with his risible phiz,  
And swore with Apollo he'd chearfully join—  
The full tide of harmony still shall be his,  
But the song, and the catch, and the laugh shall be mine:  
    Then, Jove, be not jealous  
    Of these honest fellows.  
Cry'd Jove, We relent, since the truth you now tell us;  
And swear, by Old Styx, that they long shall intwine  
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

Ye sons of Anacreon, then, join hand in hand;  
Preserve unanimity, friendship, and love.  
'Tis your's to support what's so happily plan'd;  
You've the sanction of gods, and the fiat of Jove.  
    While thus we agree,  
    Our toast let it be.  
May our club flourish happy, united, and free!  
And long may the sons of Anacreon intwine  
The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

About two years later, as has been stated above, Longman & Broderip, of London, and Anne Lee, of Dublin, published "To Anacreon in Heaven" as sheet song with music. It further appeared as Song CLXVII on pages 336-337 of "The Vocal Enchantress," London, J. Fielding [1783], and this being the earliest version of Tomlinson's words with their music in the Library of Congress, it is here reproduced in photographic facsimile. (See Appendix, Plate I.) The song received increased publicity as Song IV (p. 4) in "Calliope; or, the Musical Miscellany," London (C. Elliot and T. Kay), 1788, as Song I (pp. 1-4) "Sung by Mr. Bannister at the Anacreontic Society" in the "Edinburgh Musical Miscellany," 1792, and as Song LXXXVII in the first volume of Stewart's "Vocal Magazine," Edinburgh, 1797. In 1796 (Grattan Flood; Mr. Kidson prefers *ca. 1795*) Smollet Holden, of Dublin, made a curious use of the tune by including a "Masonic Ode, song and chorus, written by Mr. Connel, on behalf of the Masonic Orphan School," to the Anacreontic tune in his *A Selection of Masonic Songs*. A second edition bears the imprint "Dublin, A. L. 5802" (A. D. 1802), and Mr. Elson inserted a photographic facsimile of this Masonic Ode (first words: "To old Hiram, in Heav'n where he sat in full glee") from his copy of the second edition in his book on *The National Music of America*.

The inference to be drawn from the insertion of "To Anacreon in Heaven" in the quoted collections, not to mention many later collections, is plain. As those collections were among the most important and most popular of the time, "To Anacreon in Heaven" must have been familiar to all convivial souls in the British Isles toward 1800. Now it is a fact that with the possible exception of that mysterious sheet song of 1771, not one of these publications alludes to the composer of the tune. It was not the rule to do so in miscellaneous collections, yet it is a curious fact that, while contrary to custom, Stewart's Vocal Magazine, 1797, mentions in a separate index the composers of many of the airs, it leaves "To Anacreon in Heaven" without a composer. Possibly the editor doubted the now generally accepted authorship of John Stafford Smith, or he was still unaware of the peculiar form of entry (mentioned by Wm. Chappell as early as 1873!) of "To Anacreon in Heaven" in:

The fifth book of canzonets, catches, canons & glees, sprightly and plaintive with a part for the piano-forte subjoined where necessary to melodize the score; dedicated by permission to Viscount Dudley and Ward, by John Stafford Smith, Gent. of His Majesty's Chapels Royal, author of the favorite glees, Bleat pair of Syrens, Hark the hollow woods, etc. The Anacreontic, and other popular songs. Printed for the author. . . .

This collection was published between 1780 and 1790, the exact date being unknown. "To Anacreon in Heaven" appears on page

33, as reproduced here in facsimile. (Appendix, Plate II.) The words "harmonized by the author" may of course mean harmonized by the author of the collection and do not necessarily mean harmonized by the author of the air, but these words, together with the fact that the collection contains none but Smith's own glees, etc., and the wording of the title renders it probable that Smith refers to himself as the composer of the music. But why the words "*harmonized by the author?*" If one looks at the song in its garb as a glee, the bass starting out full of confidence, and the other voices continuing the melody and juggling with it, one is almost apt to see in this peculiar cooperation of the high and low male voices a plausible explanation of the notoriously wide range of "*The Star-Spangled Banner,*" if sung by one voice. This explanation is possible only if the form of "*To Anacreon in Heaven*" in Smith's Fifth Book was the original form. That we do not know, yet the word "harmonized" renders it improbable. Furthermore, if that was the original form of the piece, then some very radical melodic changes must have taken place in the melody shortly afterwards, as a comparison of the two facsimiles will show. Probably Smith composed it, if he really did compose the tune, as a song for one voice, and in "harmonizing" it for several and different voices he felt obliged to wander away from the original. Of course, if the supposed 1771 sheet song was a sheet song for one voice, and if it contained Smith's name as composer, then all doubt as to original form and to the composer vanishes. We would still have a very simple explanation for the extensive range of the tune. Such a wide range was then (and still is, for that matter) considered the sine qua non of effective drinking songs. Two fine examples "*Anacreon a poet of excellent skill*" and "*Ye mortals whom trouble & sorrow attend*" may be found in the "*Anacreontic Songs*" of the very conductor of the Anacreontic Society, namely, Doctor Arnold, and after all, it should not be forgotten that John Stafford Smith could not possibly foresee that his anacreontic masterpiece would some day have to be sung by old and young of an entire nation.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> John Stafford Smith was born 1750 at Gloucester and he died at London September 3, 1836. His principal teacher was Doctor Boyce. He became an "able organist, an efficient tenor singer, an excellent composer, and an accomplished antiquary." From 1773 on he won many prizes of the Catch Club for catches, glees, etc., and his five books of glees contain, in the words of Grove, "compositions which place him in the foremost rank of English composers." His famous "*Musica Antiqua*" appeared in 1812, containing a selection of music "from the 12th to the beginning of the 18th century," for which simple reason it would be futile to look for "*To Anacreon in Heaven*" in *Musica Antiqua*.

Tracing the American history of the air, or rather the history of its use in America, one runs across these statements in Mr. Salisbury's "Essay on 'The Star-Spangled Banner,'" 1873, page 7:

I do not discover that it was a favorite when Robert Treat Paine, Jr. used its measure in his spirited song entitled "Adams and Liberty" [1798]

p. 9:

After sixteen years, in which the tune of the Anacreontic song was seldom heard in this country or in Europe, it was applied to the pathetic verses of Mr. Key.

The second of these statements is nonsensical, the first at least improbable, because it is now known that the musical intercourse between England and America was too lively in those days to have permitted such a well-known air as "To Anacreon in Heaven," published in the most popular collections, to have remained barred from our shores. The chances are entirely in favor of the possibility that the song had its votaries here in the seventies, the more so as Parke states Sir Richard Hankey, later on president of the Anacreontic Society, to have served in the British army during our war for independence. Nor would it be at all reasonable to assume that the "Columbian Anacreontic Society" founded in imitation of the London Society in 1795 at New York, the moving spirit of which was for years the great actor-vocalist and bon-vivant John Hodgkinson, should not have helped to spread a familiarity with "To Anacreon in Heaven." Indeed, at least one performance of it in public is reasonably certain, namely, when the "Anacreontic Song" was sung by Mr. J. West at a concert at Savannah, Ga., August 19, 1796. However, Mr. Salisbury himself assists in undermining his theory that "To Anacreon in Heaven" was little known in America before it was applied to Key's "pathetic verses." On page 5 of his essay he writes of having seen it in his copy of "The Vocal Companion, published in Philadelphia, by Matthew Carey in 1796." It matters little that no copy of such a collection is preserved at the Library of Congress, Boston Public, New York Public, Brown University, Philadelphia Library Company, Pennsylvania Historical Society, Princeton University, American Antiquarian Society, Worcester; Mr. Salisbury must have seen it in a copy of some collection in his possession. Then he mentions Robert Treat (scil. Thomas) Paine's spirited "Adams and Liberty" ("Ye Sons of Columbia who bravely have fought") written for and sung to the tune of "To Anacreon in Heaven" at the anniversary of the Massachusetts Charitable Fire Society in Boston on June 1, 1798. A photographic facsimile of this famous song is

given here as it was published in the very popular "American Musical Miscellany" of 1798. (Appendix, Plate III.) Mr. Salisbury further mentions Paine's song "Spain" set to the same tune for a Boston festival in honor of the Spanish patriots, January 24, 1809. He also mentions (in footnote, p. 10) a "patriotic offshot" of the Anacreontic song, "perhaps as good as any other commonly known before 1814" [!] which appeared in *The New York Remembrancer*, Albany, 1802, with the first line "To the Gods who preside o'er the nation below," attributed by the *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 1, 1873, to Jonathan Mitchell Sewall, of Portsmouth, N. H.

To these four instances of the use of "To Anacreon in Heaven" may be added these in the following collections:

1797. *Columbian Songster*, New York, p. 136. Song: For the glorious Fourteenth of July. ("The Genius of France from his star begem'd throne.")

1799. *Columbian Songster*, Wrentham, Mass. Song. 32: Union of the gods.

1799. A Collection of Songs selected from the works of Mr. Charles Dibdin, to which are added the newest and most favorite American Patriotic Songs, Philadelphia.

p. 315. Boston Patriotic Song [Adams and Liberty].

p. 326. Our Country's efficiency ("Ye sons of Columbia, determined to keep").

1800. *American Songster*, Baltimore:

p. 9. "To Columbia, who gladly reclin'd at her ease . . ."

p. 13. "Ye Sons of Columbia, unite in the cause."

No tunes are indicated for these two, but the metre plainly suggests "To Anacreon in Heav'n."

p. 233. To Anacreon in Heav'n.

1802. *Vocal companion*, Boston. Song XVI. By J. F. Stanfield, Sunderland. ("Not the fictions of Greece, nor the dreams of old Rome.")

1803. *The American Republican Harmonist*:

p. 4. "New Song sung at the celebration of the 4th of July, at Saratoga and Waterford, N. Y. By William Foster" (Brave sons of Columbia, your triumph behold).

p. 30. Jefferson and Liberty. ("Ye sons of Columbia, who cherish the prize." Text merely altered from Adams and Liberty).

p. 105. Song [for the fourth of July, 1803] ("In years which are past, when America fought").

p. 111. Song. Sung on the 4th of March, at an entertainment given by the American Consul at London. ("Well met, fellow free men! lets cheerfully greet.")

p. 126. Song for the anniversary festival of the Tammany Society, May 12, 1803. Written by Brother D. E.

1804. 'Nightingale,' selected by Samuel Larkin, Portsmouth.

p. 69. Adams and Liberty.

p. 188. To Anacreon in Heaven.

1804. Baltimore Musical Miscellany.  
 v. 1, p. 26. Anacreon in Heaven (given in Appendix in facsimile,  
 Pl. IV).  
 p. 29. "When Bibo went down to the regions below."  
 p. 121. Sons of Columbia [Adams and Liberty].  
 v. 2, p. 158. The Social Club.

1811. Musical Repository, Augusta.  
 p. 22. Young Bibo. ("For worms when old Bibo prov'd delicate  
 fun.")  
 p. 140. Adams and Liberty [without indication of the tune].  
 p. 207. Union of the Gods. ("To Columbia, who gladly clin'd at  
 her ease.")

1813. James J. Wilson, National Song Book, Trenton.  
 p. 43. "For the Fourth of July" ("Columbians arise! let the cannon  
 resound.")  
 p. 66. "Embargo and Peace" ("When our sky was illuminated by  
 freedom's bright dawn.")  
 p. 68. "Union and Liberty." ("Hark! The Trumpet of war from  
 the East sounds alarm.")  
 p. 70. "Freedom." ("Of the victory won over tyrany's power.")  
 p. 87. "The Fourth of July." ("O'er the forest crowned hills, the  
 rich vallies and streams.")  
 p. 88. "Jefferson's Election." Sung by the Americans in London,  
 March 4, 1802. "Well met, fellow freemen! Let's cheer-  
 fully greet.")

This is not intended as an exhaustive attempt to trace the tune "To Anacreon in Heaven" in early American song collections, but merely to prove and to corroborate by facts that "the tune was a common one at that day," as Key's own daughter, Mrs. Howard, told Mrs. Shippen.

We have some further contemporary evidence in this communication sent by Mr. Charles V. Hagner to the American Historical Record, 1873, volume 2, page 129:

At the time it was written by Mr. Key, during the attack on Fort McHenry, Sept., 1814, there was a very popular and fashionable new song in vogue, viz: "To Anacreon in Heaven," every one who could sing seemed to be singing it. The writer of this was at the time, (Sept. 1814) one of some three to four thousand men composing the advance Light Brigade, chiefly volunteers from Philadelphia, under the command of General John Cadwalader, then encamped in the state of Delaware. In the evenings before tattoo, many of the men would assemble in squads and sing this song, hundreds joining in the chorus. Mr. Key must have caught the infection and adapted his words to the same air.

Francis Scott Key simply can not have escaped "To Anacreon in Heaven"! Indeed so common was the tune that, after Thomas Paine had set the example with his "Adams and Liberty," the music and the rather involved form and meter of "To Anacreon in Heaven" were adopted as *standards* by poetically inclined patriots. This historical fact applies with all its force to Francis Scott Key. The form and

meter of "To Anacreon in Heaven," "Adams and Liberty," and "The Star-Spangled Banner" are practically the same, as the juxtaposition of the first stanza will prove, if such proof be necessary.

## TO ANACREON IN HEAVEN.

To Anacreon in heaven, where he sat in full glee,  
A few sons of Harmony sent a petition,  
That he their inspirer and patron would be,  
When this answer arrived from the jolly old Grecian:  
    "Voice, fiddle, and flute,  
    "No longer be mute,  
"I'll lend ye my name, and inspire ye to boot:  
    "And besides, I'll instruct you, like me, to entwine  
    "The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine."

## THE STAR SPANGLED BANNER.

O say, can you see by the dawn's early light,  
    What so proudly we hailed at the twilight's last gleaming?  
Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the perilous fight,  
    O'er the ramparts we watched, were so gallantly streaming!  
        And the rocket's red glare,  
        The bombs bursting in air  
Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there;  
    O say, does that star spangled banner yet wave  
    O'er the land of the free and the home of the brave?

It is absurd to think that any poetically inclined patriot of those days like Key could have on the spur of the moment set himself to writing a poem of such involved meter and peculiar form as his is without using consciously or unconsciously a model. It is equally absurd under the circumstances to believe any story, tradition, or anecdote from whatever source to the effect that others, with more or less difficulty, supplied a tune which fits the words almost more smoothly than does John Stafford Smith's air the Anacreontic text of Ralph Tomlinson. Internal evidence proves that Francis Scott Key, when his imagination took fire from the bombardment of Fort McHenry, had either the meter and form of the words or words and air of "To Anacreon in Heaven" or one of its American offshoots in mind as a scaffold. If this be now taken for granted, two possibilities offer themselves: First, Key wrote his inspired lines as a poem without anticipating its musical use. When shortly afterwards a desire was felt to sing his poem, the identity of poetic meter and form of both poems necessarily, and, as it were, automatically, suggested to Key himself or any other person of culture the air of "To Anacreon in Heaven." The second possibility is that Key did anticipate the musical possibilities of his poem and intended it as a song to be sung. In that case the fact, as will be seen, that neither his so-called original manuscript nor the broadside contain any indication of the tune

may be explained by assuming that Key, very much like the editor of the American Songster, Baltimore (1800), considered it unnecessary to mention what was self-evident to him as the author. The first possibility is really more plausible, but at any rate Colonel Warner's statement that "The old air of 'Anacreon in Heaven' had been adapted to it [the poem] by the author" seems to come nearest the truth, though if a very fine distinction were to be made we should rather say that the poem was adapted by the author to the air, or at least to its poetic mate.

One of the popular legends is that Key's poem with its music spread like wildfire beyond Baltimore, and in a short time became a national song. The popular mind seems to consider it a blemish, a reflection on the intrinsic merits of a song (or any other work of art) if it does not obtain immediate popularity, and writers who cater to the tastes and prejudices of the multitude do not hesitate to amputate the facts accordingly. "The Star-Spangled Banner" rather gains than loses in merit if the silly anecdotes of its wildfire progress are not heeded, and if we adhere to what is still common knowledge among the older generations, namely, that "The Star-Spangled Banner" was not rushed to the front of our national songs until the civil war. Before that time its progress as a national song had been steady, but comparatively slow, as anybody may see who follows its career through the American song collections. This statement in nowise interferes with the fact that Francis Scott Key put it too modestly if he "believed it to have been favorably received by the Baltimore public." It would be quite possible to trace with infinite patience the progress of "The Star-Spangled Banner" through the American song collections, but this report hardly calls for such a laborious undertaking. However, to illustrate the point raised above, one would find that "The Star-Spangled Banner" appears in such songsters as "The American Songster, New York," n. d.; "New American Songster, Philadelphia, 1817;" "Bird of Birds, New York, 1818;" "The Star-Spangled Banner, Wilmington, 1816;" "The Songster's Magazine, New York, 1820;" "American Naval and Patriotic Songster, Baltimore, 1831;" but not in such as "The Songster's Companion, Brattleborough, Vt., 1815;" "The Songster's Miscellany, Philadelphia, 1817;" "The Songster's Museum, Hartford, 1826." In other words, twenty years after its conception Key's "Star-Spangled Banner" was not yet so generally accepted as a national song as to necessitate insertion in *every* songster.

Key's poem was accessible to the public as a broadside possibly as early as September 15, 1814. Here must be quoted what Admiral Preble said on page 725 of the second edition of his "History of our Flag:"

The Song on this broadside was enclosed in an elliptical border composed of the common type ornament of the day. Around that border, and a little distance from it, on a line of the same are the words, "Bombardment of Fort McHenry." The letters of these words are wide apart, and each one surrounded by a circle of stars. Below the song and within the ellipsis, are the words "Written by Francis S. Key, of Georgetown, D. C."

This description applies to the "Fac-simile of broadside as the song first appeared in print," contained in L. H. Dielman's pamphlet "The Seventh Star," published at Baltimore by the board of public works for the Louisiana Purchase Exposition, 1904. However, it may be pointed out by way of correction that merely the initial "F" and not the full name of Francis is printed, that we read M'Henry, not McHenry, that a rather pretty and effective ornamental outer border follows the shape of the broadside, and that the four corners contain additional ornamental designs. What arouses the curiosity of the historian most is that Key's authorship is not withheld, that Admiral Preble does not mention this fact at all, that the title of the poem here is "The Star-Spangled Banner" and *that no tune is indicated*.

If Preble's description tallies with a broadside as facsimiled by Dielman, it absolutely differs from "*one of those first printed handbills*" which, so Mrs. Shippen stated in her article, first was in possession of her grandfather, Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson, then of his wife, after that in Mrs. Shippen's possession, and recently was acquired together with a Star-Spangled Banner autograph by Mr. Henry Walters, of Baltimore. The latter courteously granted permission to examine these treasures, and I found that his broadside (about 6½ by 5½ inches) is without any ornamental design whatsoever, does not mention Key's name at all, and does not bear any title except "Defence of Fort M'Henry." This is followed by the same historical note as appeared in the Baltimore American of September 21, 1814, then by the indication "Tune: Anacreon in Heaven," and lastly by practically the same text of the poem as it appears in the Judge Nicholson-Widow Nicholson-Mrs. Shippen-Mr. Walters autograph. The only differences, apart from the differences in interpunctuation, etc., are these:

- (1) In the first stanza was printed the "Bombs" instead of the bomb.
- (2) In the second stanza the misprint "reflected *new* shines" instead of "reflected *now* shines."
- (3) In the broadside capital letters frequently appear where they are not found in the autograph, f. i. "The Rocket's," "Land of the Free," "Home of the Brave." On the other hand, the autograph has "Country" whereas this broadside has "country."

Here then are two broadsides, both of which are claimed to have belonged to that edition set up on the morning of September 15,

1814. We are not permitted to accept Mrs. Shippen's claims for her broadside offhand, since her account is clearly a mixture of family tradition, personal opinion, and sediment from reading on the subject. The broadsides, to be authentic, must stand the test of analytical criticism, and if one, by this process, is eliminated then all reasonable scepticism will vanish from the other.

The three observations called forth by the broadside championed by Preble and Dielman are curious indeed in view of the fact that the Baltimore American, when publishing Key's poem on September 21, 1814, preceded by a brief historical note, did not print the title "The Star-Spangled Banner," but instead "Defence of Fort McHenry," did not mention Key by name at all, but added: "Tune: Anacreon in Heaven." Key's poem—and this is a fact hitherto rarely, if ever, pointed out—made its first appearance in an American songster in the very rare "National Songster, or, a collection of the most admired patriotic songs, on the brilliant victories achieved by the naval and military-heroes . . . First Hagerstown edition," Hagerstown [Md.], John Gruber and Daniel May, 1814 on p. 30-31 under the title of

"DEFENCE OF FORT M'HENRY.  
Tune: Anacreon in Heaven.

Wrote by an American Gentleman [!], who was compelled to witness the bombardment of Fort M'Henry, on board of a flag vessel at the mouth of the Patapsco."

Evidently the compiler of the National Songster clipped Key's poem from the Baltimore American and did not use a copy of this broadside. If, as Mrs. Shippen insists (Pa. Mag. of Hist., 1901-2, pp. 427-428) her grandfather's broadside was "One of those first printed handbills," why was Key's name suppressed in the Baltimore American's account after Judge Nicholson had permitted it to go on the handbill which he himself had ordered at the printing office? One might suspect that in view of the vindictive nature of the British it was deemed safer for Mr. Key to suppress the name of the author of "Their foul footsteps' pollution" in a paper of fairly healthy circulation, but this explanation is not plausible, because the historical note in the Baltimore American could have left no doubt of the offender's identity in the minds of British officers should they have been in a position to catch Key. Possibly Key's modesty would not permit disclosure of his authorship, but what could his modesty avail him, if the broadside with his name had already been favorably received by the public of Baltimore? And not merely this, we have the words of Mrs. Shippen:

Judge Nicholson wrote a little piece that appears at the heading of the lines, above which he also wrote the "name of the tune Anacreon in Heaven."

Obviously this action of Judge Nicholson can not apply to the broadside which contains "no little piece" nor indication of the tune, but it does apply to the account in the Baltimore American. Hence it would have been Judge Nicholson himself who withheld Key's name from the newspapers after he had given it to the public in a broadside. Furthermore, the Baltimore American account was bodily reprinted in the National Intelligencer September 27, 1814, under the same title "Defence of Fort M'Henry," and at the bottom of the anonymous poem appears the editorial note: "Whoever is the author of those lines they do equal honor to his principles and his talent!" Consequently, not even the editor of a paper printed at Washington, D. C., practically Key's home, knew of his authorship as late as September 27. Indeed, the anonymous "gentleman" figures in the Baltimore American at least as late as October 19, 1814. There is another suspicious circumstance. It should have aroused surprise ere this that Samuel Sands, the apprentice, set up at a moment's notice such an elaborate ornamental handbill as described by Preble and facsimiled by Dielman. The boy must have had remarkably precocious artistic instincts indeed, and very rapid hands and eyes. But why did he refuse to follow copy; why are there several differences between his broadside and the so-called original manuscript? Thus one becomes convinced that this broadside is not and can not have been a copy of the one struck off before the publication in the Baltimore American, but a copy of a broadside published considerably after that date, when Key's authorship was no longer kept a secret, when his poem had changed—at least in print, the earliest manuscript extant has none—its title from "Defence of Fort McHenry" to "The Star-Spangled Banner," and when verbal differences in the text had commenced to be quite frequent. The Preble-Dielman broadside thus being eliminated, only the Nicholson-Shippen-Walters broadside remains for serious consideration, and as far as I can see, it contains absolutely nothing to arouse our suspicion. In absence of proof to the contrary, it may indeed be called a copy, perhaps a unique copy, of the original broadside edition.

We turn our attention to the whereabouts of the original manuscript of Key's poem.

Mrs. Shippen writes in the article already quoted:

Having heard several times of late that there are in existence *several original* copies, of the lines written on the night of September 12 [sic!], 1814 . . . by Francis Scott Key . . . and as I am the fortunate possessor of the only document that could exist of these lines—the *original manuscript*—I will explain how it seems possible that there could be more than one . . . [follows a partly inaccurate account based on Taney] . . . *It is the back of that old letter, unsigned, that Francis Scott Key (my great-uncle) gave to Judge Joseph Hopper Nicholson*

(my grandfather) that I possess, together with one of those *first printed* handbills . . . Judge Nicholson [seeing] that the lines given him by Francis Scott Key could be sung to that tune [to Anacreon in Heaven] and in all haste to give the lines as a song to the public, he thus marked it. I possess this rare original manuscript, kept carefully folded by his wife, Rebecca Lloyd Nicholson and taken from her private papers by myself and framed. . . .

This is a clear-cut claim of possession of the original manuscript, and yet Mrs. Shippen herself undermines the claim by closing her interesting article thus:

. . . The first piece of paper on which the lines he composed were written on the night of his arrival in Baltimore I have in my possession; the same that Mr. Key himself gave to Judge Nicholson.

These statements slightly contradict each other, as a careful reading of Chief Justice Taney's account, on which Mrs. Shippen partly bases her claim, will prove. According to Taney, Francis Scott Key told him that—

- (1) He commenced it [the poem] on the deck of their vessel . . . that he had written *some lines or brief notes* that would aid him in calling them to mind, upon the back of a letter which he happened to have in his pocket; and for some of the lines, as he proceeded, he was obliged to rely altogether on his memory.
- (2) He finished it in the boat on his way to the shore.
- (3) He *wrote it out as it now stands*, at the hotel, on the night he reached Baltimore and immediately after he arrived.
- (4) On the next morning he took it to Judge Nicholson.

Consequently, a distinction is here made between the autograph *sketch* of the poem commenced on the cartel vessel and finished on the back of a letter in the boat before reaching Baltimore, and a *written out* autograph copy of the sketch. It is the latter which he took to Judge Nicholson for his critical opinion, and, of course, not the sketch on the back of the letter. In the first quotation from her article Mrs. Shippen describes this sketch; in the second quotation, the manuscript as written out after Key's arrival at Baltimore. These two different manuscripts she confuses, not realizing the distinction implied in Chief Justice Taney's narrative. Hence she considered herself Judge Nicholson's heir to the *original* manuscript of "The Star-Spangled Banner," whereas *she really possessed, and Mr. Henry Walters, of Baltimore, now possesses, not the original manuscript, but Key's first clean copy of the original manuscript*, sketched and finished under such peculiar circumstances. What became of this sketch we do not know. The probabilities are that Key destroyed it after he had neatly written out his poem at the hotel. The Library of Congress is not in a position to inclose here for purpose of comparison and analysis a photographic facsimile of Key's manuscript, as now possessed by Mr. Walters, but fortunately a facsimile

may be found in the Century Magazine, 1894, page 362, and in Dielman's pamphlet "Maryland, the Seventh Star." Nobody looking at these facsimiles or the original can concede that the latter has the appearance of a filled-in sketch. It is too neatly written for that, the lines are too symmetrically spaced and the whole manuscript contains practically only two corrections: In the first stanza Key wrote and then crossed out "*through*" instead of "*by* the dawn's early light," and in the third, "*They have wash'd out*" instead of "*Their blood has wash'd out*." The manuscript contains no signature, no title, nor indication of tune. This is mentioned particularly because Mrs. Shippen's article might convey the impression that the manuscript is "thus marked." The visible effects of folding do not point at all to the "old letter" in Key's pocket, since Mrs. Shippen's manuscript had been "kept carefully folded" by Judge Nicholson's wife.

Unquestionably, the manuscript now at the Walters Gallery is the earliest extant of "The Star-Spangled Banner." In after years Key presented signed autograph copies to friends and others, but just how many such copies he made is not known. At any rate, it is not surprising that the existence of several autograph copies led to confusion as to the earliest, the incorrectly so-called original, copy. An attempt shall now be made to separate intelligently such copies as have come to my notice principally by way of Admiral Preble's several contradictory contributions to the subject.

Charles Durang, in the Historical Magazine, 1864, pages 347-348, claimed that "the original draft, with its interliniations and amendatory erasures, etc. was purchased by the late Gen. George Keim, of Reading, and I suppose his heirs have it now."

Without the slightest hesitation Preble used this statement in his book "Our Flag" (1st ed., 1872, p. 495). In 1874 Preble wrote in his essay "Three Historical Flags" (New Engl. Hist. and Gen. Reg., pp. 39-40), that this particular copy was

*Presented by Mr. Key in 1842 to Gen. George Keim and is now in possession of his son Henry May Keim, Esq. of Reading, Penn. . . . I have a photographic copy of the autograph in the possession of Mr. Keim.*

Retracting his former statement about the original draft, with its erasures, in a footnote on the same page, Preble states that his photograph shows it to be "a fair copy, written out by Mr. Key, and I learn from Gen. Keim's son that the autograph was presented to his father by Mr. Key."

A facsimile of this was made for the Baltimore Sanitary Fair in 1864, so Mr. Keim informed Admiral Preble January 8, 1874 (see New Engl. Hist. and Gen. Reg., 1877, pp. 29), but, if made, it certainly was not included by Kennedy and Bliss in their "Autograph

Leaves," as the Library of Congress copy of this work proves. Preble gave the text of the Keim copy, though not in facsimile, in his essay, "Three Historic Flags" (1874). In the second edition of his "History of Our Flag" (1880) he then informed his readers that Gen. George Keim's copy had "since [been] presented to the Pennsylvania Historical Society by his son." This statement is somewhat puzzling, because the text of the Keim copy quoted by Preble, 1874, the dedication "To Gen. Keim," and the undated signature "F. S. Key" are identical with those of a supposed "Star-Spangled Banner" autograph in possession of Mr. Robert A. Dobbin, of Baltimore, Md. When generously loaning this to the Library of Congress for exhibition purposes and granting us the privilege to reproduce it in facsimile (see Appendix, Plate VII). Mr. Dobbin, under date of March 24, 1909, wrote:

Mr. Key was an intimate friend of Gen. Keim of Pennsylvania. On account of this intimacy and as a mark of the friendship which existed between them, Mr. Key gave this copy, which I have loaned you, to General Keim. You will note that Gen. Keim's name is in Mr. Key's handwriting.

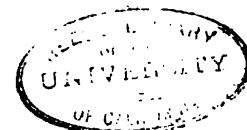
Mr. Charles W. Keim, a son of General Keim, came into possession of this copy after the death of his father, and a few years before his own death presented it to my late wife, who was a granddaughter of Mr. Francis Scott Key.

Mr. Dobbin apparently was not aware of the fact that he possessed a photograph, not an original autograph, the photograph even showing the marks of thumb tacks. Consequently, not he but the Pennsylvania Historical Society is in the possession of the Keim copy, which, with its approximate date, 1842, is, of course, as far removed from the original draft with its erasures as is possible. It is here reproduced by permission of the society (see Appendix, Plate V).

Benson John Lossing wrote in footnote (p. 956), in his Pictorial Fieldbook of the War of 1812, first edition, 1868:

The fac-simile of the original manuscript of the first stanza of the "Star Spangled Banner," given on the opposite page, was first published, by permission of its owner (Mrs. Howard) daughter of the author [Key], in "Autograph Leaves of our Country's Authors," a volume edited by John P. Kennedy and Alexander Bliss for the Baltimore Sanitary Fair, 1864.

Accepting Lossing's statement, Preble in his essay, "Three Historic Flags," 1874, credited Mrs. Charles Howard, of Baltimore, with the possession of this autograph. As the facsimile in the "Autograph Leaves" shows, it bears the title "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the signature "F. S. Key," but no dedication and no date. The handwriting has not the firmness of youth, and it stands to reason that Key wrote this manuscript in late life. Admiral Preble had occasion in his essay, "The Star-Spangled Banner," New England Historical and Genealogical Register, 1877, pages 28-31, to correct Lossing's statement of ownership, since Mrs. Howard wrote him under date of April 25, 1874:



## The Star-Spangled Banner.

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I do not think I ever had an autograph of The Star-Spangled Banner. My father [F. S. Key] gave his children from the time they could speak, the habit of committing poetry to memory, and in that way only has the song been preserved to me. Except in one or two words, Mr. Keim's version, as you have it, is the one I have ever remembered.

Though, therefore, Mrs. Howard disclaimed ownership of this particular autograph, yet it must have existed and is, to judge by the facsimile, genuine.

Another autograph of "The Star-Spangled Banner" was thus described by Preble in his book, "Our Flag," 1872:

A copy of the poem in Key's own handwriting, a copy prepared many years after its composition, and evidently in the exact language intended by its author (as it was presented by him to James Mahar, who for thirty years was the gardener of the executive mansion), was a few years since, exhibited in the window of Messrs. Phillip & Solomons, on Pennsylvania avenue, Washington. The identity of the handwriting was certified to by Judge Dunlop, Nicholas Callen, Esq., Peter Force and others, all of whom were intimately acquainted with Mr. Key and perfectly familiar with his style of penmanship. In fact his style was so peculiar and uniform, that it would be almost impossible for anyone who had ever noticed it with ordinary care to be mistaken.

This report Preble evidently took from a copy of the National Intelligencer, from which he further quoted "verbatim" the text of the Mahar autograph which evidently bore the title: "The Star-Spangled Banner" and the signature "For Mr. Jas. Mahar, of Washington city, Washington, June 7, 1842. From F. S. Key."

In his essay, "Three Historic Flags," Preble merely added that the Mahar copy was exhibited at Washington "in 1843, after Mr. Key's death." The present whereabouts of the Mahar copy is unknown to me.

Finally, in his essay, "The Star-Spangled Banner," 1877 (already quoted above), Preble remarked of a copy, dated October 21, 1840:

It was first published in fac-simile in the American Historical and Literary Curiosities (Pl. LV) by John Jay Smith [Sec. Ser. N. Y. 1860, pl. 55] who stated the original was in the possession of Louis J. Cist.

Preble enlivened his narrative by adding a reduced facsimile of this 1840 copy, and he again used it in the second edition of his "History of Our Flag," 1880. From there it was reproduced by Miss Mary L. D. Ferris in the New England Magazine, 1890, for her article on "Our national songs" (pp. 483-504). Another facsimile is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, as Mr. E. M. Barton, the librarian, informed me. The American Antiquarian Society received it on October 21, 1875, from Maj. Albert H. Hoyt, then editor of the New England Historical and Genealogical Register. The original seems to have disappeared until offered for sale as No. 273 in Stan. V. Henkel's catalogue of the Rogers collection of autograph letters, etc., 1895. The added facsimile shows absolute identity in date,

signature, orthography, appearance, and every other detail with the facsimile at Worcester.

To sum up, it appears that, not counting the original draft, at least five copies of "The Star-Spangled Banner" in Francis Scott Key's handwriting exist, or at least existed:

- (1) The Judge Nicholson-Mrs. Shippen-Walters copy, 1814. (Walters.)
- (2) The Louis J. Cist copy, 1840. (Cist, present whereabouts unknown.)
- (3) The supposed Howard copy, ca. 1840. (Howard.)
- (4) The Gen. Keim-Pennsylvania Historical Soc. copy. (Pa. Hist. Soc.)
- (5) The Mahar copy, 1842. (Mahar.)

There may be other copies, but these five are sufficient for the purpose of showing the changes Francis Scott himself made in his poem. The different versions would, as often happens in such cases, be used by different compilers. In course of time verbal inaccuracies would creep from one song book into the other. Also the compilers themselves have sometimes felt justified in improving Key's text. The result of all this has been, of course, that gradually Key's text became unsettled. As early as 1872 Preble marked the verbal differences between certain different versions, and since then surely the confusion has not decreased. Hence, very properly, the cry for an authoritative text has been raised. What should constitute such a text, whether one of Key's own version, or a combination of them, or any later "improved" version, it is not for me to say, though I may be permitted to remark that in my opinion there is no reason for going outside of Key's own intentions. At any rate, I do not consider it my duty to wade through endless song books in order to trace all the verbal inaccuracies and alterations of the text of "The Star-Spangled Banner."<sup>a</sup> The comparison will be extensive enough for all practical purposes if it be limited to Key's own five versions, to the earliest printed versions, and to the one in his collected poems. They will be distinguished from each other, where necessary, by the words written in parenthesis. These printed texts here compared with the earliest manuscript extant are:

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<sup>a</sup> In this connection part of the memorandum of Dr. A. R. Spofford, November 19, 1907, is very instructive. He wrote:

"A collation of this authentic copy [i. e., the Cist copy], with several widely circulated collections of songs, shows numerous variations and omissions: Following is a statement of a few of these, with the number of discrepancies found in each:

"Nason (E). A Monogram [I] on our National Songs. Albany, 1869. (11 variations from original, and one stanza omitted.)

"Higgins (Edwin). The Star-Spangled Banner. Baltimore, 1898. (7 variations.)

"Sousa (J. P.). National and Patriotic Airs of All Lands. Philadelphia, 1890. (14 variations, with a fifth stanza added, which was not written by Key.)

"Bryant (W. C.). Library of Poetry and Song. New York, 1880. (8 variations.)

"Dana (C. D.). Household Poetry. New York, 1859. (7 variations.)

"Coates (H. T.). Fireside Encyclopaedia of Poetry. Philadelphia, 1879. (9 variations.)

- (6) The Walters Broadside. (Broadside I.)
- (7) The Preble-Dielman Broadside. (Broadside II.)
- (8) Baltimore American, 1814. (Baltimore American.)
- (9) The "National Songster." (National Songster.)
- (10) Key's Poems, publ. 1857. (Poems.)

The comparison is based on the Walters text, without esthetic comment and taking the title of "The Star-Spangled Banner" for granted. The words that differ are italicized. Differences in spelling and interpunctuation are disregarded.

O say can *you* see by the dawn's early light  
    What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming,  
Whose *broad stripes & bright stars* through the *perilous* fight  
    O'er the ramparts we watch'd, were so gallantly streaming?  
        And the rocket's red glare, the *bomb* bursting in air,  
    Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there  
O say does that star spangled banner yet wave  
    O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave?  
  
On the shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,  
    Where the foe's haughty host in dread silence reposes,  
What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep,  
    As it fitfully blows, *half* conceals, *half* discloses?  
        Now it catches the gleam of the morning's first beam  
    In full glory reflected now shines in the stream  
'Tis the star-spangled banner—O long may it wave  
    O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave!  
  
And where is *that band who so vauntingly* swore,  
    That the havoc of war & the battle's confusion  
A home & a Country should leave us no more?  
    Their blood has wash'd out *their* foul footstep's pollution  
        No refuge could save the hireling & slave  
    From the terror of flight or the gloom of the grave,  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave  
    O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.  
  
O thus be it ever when *freemen* shall stand  
    Between their lov'd *home & the war's* desolation!  
Blest with vict'ry & peace may the heav'n rescued land  
    Praise the power that hath made & preserv'd us a nation!  
        Then conquer we must, when our cause it is just.  
    And this be our motto—"In God is our Trust,"  
And the star-spangled banner in *triumph shall* wave  
    O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

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"Stedman (E. C.). American Anthology. Boston, 1900. (5 variations.)

"While some of these alterations from the author's manuscript may seem unimportant, others actually change the meaning of the lines, as in the second stanza, where Key wrote—

" 'What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep  
    As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?'

"The second line is perverted into—

" 'As it fitfully blows, now conceals, now discloses?'

"In all except three of the reprints before noted this change occurs.

"It is for the worse, for two reasons:

"(1) It destroys the fine image of the wind flapping the flag so as to show and conceal alternately parts of the stars and stripes; while the substitution makes the breeze sometimes conceal the whole star-spangled banner.

"(2) The substitution is bad literary form, since it twice uses the word 'now,' which the author has applied twice in the two lines immediately following."

## DIFFERENCES.

*Ye:* Cist.  
*By:* Cist. *Bright stars & broad stripes:* Cist.  
*Clouds of the:* Cist; Pa. Hist. Soc.; Howard; Mahar.  
*Bombs:* Broadside I and II; Baltimore Am.; Poems.  
*From:* Broadside II.  
*That:* Cist; Pa. Hist. Soc.; Howard; Poems; *Now-now:* Poems.  
*On:* Cist; Mahar.  

<i>Are the foes that:</i>	Cist; Pa. Hist. Soc.; Howard.
<i>Are the foes who:</i>	Poems.

<i>That Host that:</i>	Cist.
<i>The foe that:</i>	Mahar.

*Sweepingly:* Mahar.  
*This:* Mahar.  
*His:* Mahar.  
*And:* Broadside II.  
*Foemen:* Mahar.  
*Homes:* Baltimore Am.; Cist; Pa. Hist. Soc.; Howard; Mahar.  
*War's:* Mahar.  
*O long may it:* Broadside II.

Like other patriotic songs, "The Star-Spangled Banner" has had its share of additional stanzas; that is, of verses suggested by the changing times, the changing spirit of the times, and sectional antagonism. On the other hand, at least one stanza often came to be omitted. It is the third, undoubtedly expressive of bitter sentiment against the English, as was natural and logical in 1814, but rather unnatural and illogical after we were again the friends of England. This apparent defect of Key's text for a national hymn, which should stand above party feeling and chauvinism, led to the composition of one of the two additional stanzas, which shall here be briefly considered. Its origin was narrated to Preble in 1876 by Benjamin Rush in the following words printed by the Admiral in his essay on "The Star-Spangled Banner" (New Eng. Hist. and Gen. Reg., 1877, p. 31):

The circumstances under which these additional stanzas to the Star-Spangled Banner first came to my hand were briefly adverted to in the Preface to my edition of my father's book, entitled "Recollections of the English and French Courts," published in London in 1871, where I then was. The stanzas were also published; but that need not interfere in the least with your desire to insert them in the second edition of your History of the Flag, wherein I should say they would appropriately come in. The name of the author by whom they were composed, was George Spowers, Esq., and this has never been published. I think it eminently due to him now that his name should be given to the public, considering not only the beauty but the admirable sentiments of the stanzas. He had seen in my hands a manuscript copy of the original song, and asked me to lend it to him, which I did. A day or two afterwards he returned it to me with these stanzas. I was quite a boy at the time, at school with my two brothers at Hampstead, near London, while my father was residing in London as minister of the United States.' It must have been about the year 1824.

Mr. Spowers's well-meant but objectionable stanza, because it, too, drags our national hymn into foreign politics, reads:

But hush'd be that strain! They our Foes are no longer;  
Lo Britain the right hand of Friendship extends,  
And Albion's fair Isle we behold with affection  
The land of our Fathers—the land of our Friends!  
Long, long may we flourish, Columbia and Britain,  
In amity still may your children be found,  
And the Star-Spangled Banner and Red Cross together  
Wave free and triumphant the wide world around!

The best known of the additional stanzas is the one written by Oliver Wendell Holmes, as he informed Admiral Preble, April 14, 1872, at the request of a lady during our civil war, there being no verse alluding to treasonable attempt against the flag. According to Preble the stanza was first published in the Boston Evening Transcript. Preble received a corrected and amended autograph of the stanza from Holmes, and this he reproduced in facsimile in the second edition of his famous work (p. 730). It reads:

When our land is illumined with liberty's smile,  
If a foe from within strikes a blow at her glory,  
Down, down with the traitor that dares to defile  
The flag of the stars, and the page of her story!  
By the millions unchained  
Who their birth-right have gained,  
We will keep her bright blazon forever unstained;  
And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave,  
While the land of the free is the home of the brave.

It has been noticed ere this that not only the text of The Star-Spangled Banner but its music is sung and played with noticeable differences. These occur both in the harmonization of the melody and in the melody itself. To trace the discrepancies in the harmonization would hardly be profitable, since the harmonization of any melody will always be to a certain degree a matter of individual taste. Often many ways are possible, several equally good—i. e., equally appropriate—and seldom one the only proper one. The harmonization depends, of course, largely on the bass, and since the harmonization of a national song should be simple and easily grasped by the popular mind, there can not be much variance of opinion as to the bass. However, historical considerations will hardly be helpful in this direction. An authoritative harmonization is less a problem of history than of musical grammar, and authoritative it can be only for those who accept the harmonization recommended by a jury of musicians as the authoritative one for the persons under their own musical jurisdiction. It is somewhat different with the melody. True, neither an act of Congress nor the recommendation of a board of musicians will stop the process of polishing and modification (either for better or worse) which takes place with all folk, traditional, and patriotic songs. Yet it is obviously imperative for musical and other

reasons that at least the melody of a national hymn have as much stability and uniformity as can be forced through official channels on the popular mind. The most suitable form of the melody will again be a matter of decision by a jury of musicians, yet it may be interesting and instructive to contrast "To Anacreon in Heaven," as used and modified, partly for verbal reasons, about 1800, with the common versions of its offshoot "The Star-Spangled Banner" of to-day, which from the beginning must have slightly differed from "To Anacreon in Heaven" by dint of the peculiarities of Key's poem. First, the melody as it appears in the *Vocal Enchantress*, 1783, the earliest version in the Library of Congress, will be compared bar for bar with "Adams and Liberty" in the *American Musical Miscellany*, 1798 (A. M. M.), and with the version in the *Baltimore Musical Miscellany*, 1804 (B. M. M.). The facsimile of the "harmonized" version in Smith's "Fifth Book" shows it to be too garbled for purposes of melodic comparison.

## VOCAL ENCHANTRESS, 1783.

The musical score consists of 21 numbered measures of music. The first 16 measures are in common time, treble clef, and G major. Measures 17 through 21 are in common time, treble clef, and A major. Measure 17 is labeled "CHORUS." Measures 18 and 21 both have "or" above them, indicating alternative endings. The music is composed of eighth and sixteenth notes, with various rests and dynamic markings.

Differences

Thus the so-called polishing process had begun within one generation after the "Sons of Harmony" had adopted "To Anacreon in Heaven" as their constitutional song. How is their club melody sung to the words of "The Star-Spangled Banner" by Americans young and old at the beginning of the twentieth century? For the purpose of comparison I have selected at random 12 recent song books and John Philip Sousa's "National, patriotic, typical airs of all lands" (1890), compiled "by authority" for use in the United States Navy. (Sousa.) If these few differ so widely in single bars, what discrepancies could be revealed if all the song books used in our country were similarly compared!

1. W. H. Aiken, Part songs for mixed voices for high schools, 1908.
2. C. A. Boyle. School praise and song, 1903. (B)
3. C. H. Farnsworth, Songs for schools, 1906. (F)
4. A. J. Gantvoort. School music reader, 1907 (G)
5. B. Jepson's New Standard Music Readers, Seventh year, 1904 (J)
6. McLaughlin-Gilchrist, Fifth Music Reader, 1906. (M)
7. Ripley-Tapper, Harmonic Fifth Reader, 1904. (R)
8. E. Smith, Music Course, Book Four, 1908. (Sm)
9. J. B. Shirley, Part songs for girl's voices, 1908 (Sh.)
10. H. O. Siefert, Choice songs, 1902 (Si)
11. C. E. Whiting, The New public school music course, Third reader, 1909 (W)
12. E. J. A. Zeiner, The High school song book, 1908. (Z)

*The Star-Spangled Banner.*

## AIKEN

Musical score for Aiken's arrangement of "The Star-Spangled Banner". The score consists of six staves of music. The first staff starts with measures 1, 9, 2, 10, 8, 11, 4, 12, 5, 13, and 6, 14. The second staff continues with 7, 15, 8, 16, 9, 17, 18, 19, and 20. The third staff has measures 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, and 27. The fourth staff has measures 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, and 33. The fifth staff has measures 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, and 39. The sixth staff has measures 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, and 45.

## DIFFERENCES

Musical score for the differences in Aiken's arrangement. The score consists of six staves of music. The first staff starts with measures 1, 9, 8, 11, and 5, 13. The lyrics are B; F; J; Si; Sm; Sh; W; Z G; Sh; W. M. Z Sh; W. The second staff continues with 6, 7, 15, 9, 17, 18, and 19. The lyrics are Z F; G; J; M; Sh; Z. Sh; W. B; G; J. Sm. B; F; G; J; M; Si; Sm; W; Z. The third staff has measures 20, 21, 22, and 23. The lyrics are Sh. B; G; J; Sm. Sh. Z. F; J; Sl. W. The fourth staff has measures 24, 25, 26, 27, and 28. The lyrics are Z F; G; J; M. Sh. J. Sh. The fifth staff has measures 29, 30, 31, and 32. The lyrics are W. W. W. J. Sh. Sl. F; G; J; M; Si; W. Z. The sixth staff has measures 33, 34, 35, and 36. The lyrics are B; Sm. F; M; R; Si; J; Z. Sh. Sh.

## SOUSA

Musical score for Sousa's arrangement of "The Star-Spangled Banner". The score consists of two staves of music. The first staff starts with measures 1, 9, 11, 16, and 18. The second staff continues with 20, 22, 24, and 26.

## HAIL COLUMBIA.<sup>a</sup>

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"Hail Columbia" was written in 1798 by Joseph Hopkinson (1770–1842), whose prominence as jurist, combined with his authorship of "Hail Columbia," has won him a place in biographical encyclopædias. The poet himself has described the circumstances which led to the composition of his poem in a letter written August 24, 1840, to Rev. Rufus W. Griswold and printed in *The Wyoming Bard*, Wilkesbarre, Pa.:

"Hail Columbia" was written in the summer of 1798, when war with France was thought to be inevitable. Congress was then in session in Philadelphia, debating upon that important subject, and acts of hostility had actually taken place. The contest between England and France was raging, and the people of the United States were divided into parties for the one side or the other, some thinking that policy and duty required us to espouse the cause of "republican France," as she was called, while others were for connecting ourselves with England, under the belief that she was the great preservative power of good principles and safe government. The violation of our rights by both belligerents was forcing us from the just and wise policy of President Washington, which was to do equal justice to both but to part with neither, and to preserve an honest and strict neutrality between them. The prospect of a rupture with France was exceedingly offensive to the portion of the people who espoused her cause, and the violence of the spirit of party has never risen higher, I think not so high, in our country, as it did at that time upon that question. The theatre was then open in our city. A young man belonging to it, whose talent was high as a singer, was about to take a benefit. I had known him when he was at school. On this acquaintance he called on me one Saturday afternoon, his benefit being announced for the following Monday. His prospects were very disheartening; but he said that if he could get a patriotic song adapted to "the President's March" he did not doubt of a full house; that the poets of the theatrical corps had been trying to accomplish it, but had not succeeded. I told him I would try what I could do for him. He came the next afternoon, and the song, such as it is, was ready for him. The object of the author was to get up an American spirit which should be independent of, and above the interests, passion and policy of both belligerents, and look and feel exclusively for our honour and rights. No allusion is made to France or England, or the quarrel between them, or to the question which was most in fault in their treatment of us. Of course the song found favour with both parties, for both were American, at least neither could disown the sentiments and feelings it indicated. Such is the history of this song, which has endured infinitely beyond the expectation of the author, as it is beyond any merit it can boast of except that of being truly and exclusively patriotic in its sentiment and spirit.

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<sup>a</sup> Revised and enlarged from my essay "Critical notes on the origin of 'Hail Columbia,'" in the *Sammelbände d. I. M. G.*, 1901, volume 3, p. 139–166.

The young man who was about to take a benefit was Gilbert Fox, to the talents of whom Charles Durang, the historian of the Philadelphia stage, does not pay a very high tribute. If we believe Durang, it was the misfortune of Fox to have "created Hail Columbia." His friends and admirers became so numerous that his health, and accordingly his career, were ruined by the excessive demands of conviviality.

The benefit with which the tragedy of his life began, but which made his name famous ever since, was thus advertised in the Porcupine Gazette, April 24, 1798:

Mr. Fox's Night. On Wednesday Evening, April 25. By Desire will be presented (for the second time in America) a Play, interspersed with Songs, in three Acts, called *The Italian Monk* . . . after which an entire *New Song* (written by a Citizen of Philadelphia) to the tune of the "President's March" will be sung by Mr. Fox; accompanied by the Full Band and the following *Grand Chorus*:

Firm united let us be  
Rallying around our Liberty  
As a band of brothers join'd  
Peace and Safety we shall find!

It was a clever bit of advertising to have inserted the words of the "grand chorus." Containing no party allusions they aroused the public curiosity as to the tendency of the song, and consequently Mr. Fox reaped a golden harvest. The song met with immediate success. It was redemanded nearly a dozen times on that memorable evening and had to be sung by Mr. Fox "for the second time by particular desire" on Friday, the next play night, and again on Saturday under the name of a "New Federal Song." On Monday a Mr. Sully begged "leave to acquaint his friends and the public that the 'New Federal Song' to the tune of the President's March" would be given "among the Variety of Entertainments performed at Rickett's Circus this Evening for his Benefit."

The newspapers and magazines helped to spread the popularity of the song. It appeared, for instance, in the Porcupine Gazette for Saturday, April 28, as a "song," in the April number of the Philadelphia Magazine as a "patriotic song," and as early as May 7 in the Connecticut Courant as "song."

But it seemed at first as if "Hail Columbia," notwithstanding its neutral spirit, would become more a political than a national song, for Cobbett's Porcupine Gazette entered on its behalf into a passionate controversy with Bache and Callender's Aurora and General Advertiser. Thus Cobbett violently attacked his political antagonists on Friday, April 27, under the heading "Bache and Callender":

It is not often that I disgust my readers with extracts from the vile paper these fellows print, but that of this morning contains several things that merit to be recorded.

**The Theatre.** For some days past, the Anglo-Monarchical party have appeared at the theatre in full triumph — and the President's march and other aristocratic tunes have been loudly vociferated for, and vehemently applauded. On Wednesday evening the admirers of British tyranny assembled in consequence of the managers having announced in the bills of the day that there would be given a patriotic song to the tune of the President's March, all the British Merchants, British Agents, and many of our Congress tories, attended to do honour to the occasion. When the wished for song came, which contained, amidst the most ridiculous bombast, the vilest adulation to the anglo-monarchical party, and the two Presidents, the extacy of the party knew no bounds, they encored, they shouted, they became Mad as the Priestress of the Delphic God.

Cobbett adds:

This circumstance relative to the theatre, must have given a rude shock to the brain of the few remaining Democrats. It is a lie to say that the song is an eulogium on England or on Monarchy. It shall have a place in this Gazette to-morrow and in the meantime, to satisfy my distant readers that the charge of its being in praise of the English is false, I need only to observe, that it abounds in Eulogiums on the men, who planned and affected the American Revolution!

The public took Cobbett's side, and the song gained rapidly in favor. It was sung and whistled on the streets, and soon no public entertainment was considered as satisfactory without it. To quote from McKoy's reminiscences in Poulson's American Daily Advertiser for January 13, 1829: "Such was the popularity of this song that very frequently has Mr. Gillingham, leader of the band, been forced to come to a full stop in the foreign music he had arranged for the evening by the deafening calls for this march, or song to this march."

Hardly a week had passed since Mr. Fox's night, when another Thespian introduced the song in New York. But already the rather vague title of "New Federal Song" had been changed into that of "Hail Columbia."

Cobbett writes on Thursday, May 3:

The following is part of an advertisement of the Entertainment for the last Evening at the theatre New York.

End of the Play, Mr. Williamson will sing a new Patriotic Song, called "Hail Columbia." Death or Liberty. Received in Philadelphia with more reiterated Plaudits than were perhaps ever witnessed in a theatre.

When Mr. Williamson again sang "Hail Columbia" "at the End of the Play" on May 18<sup>a</sup> "Death or Liberty" was dropped, and ever since the song has been known as "Hail Columbia."

Mr. Williamson seems to have been much in vogue as a singer of patriotic songs. When assisting Mr. Chalmers in his "Readings and Recitations" at Oeller's Room in Philadelphia on June 15<sup>b</sup>, he entertained the audience with "The Boston Patriotic Song: Adams

<sup>a</sup> Advertisement in the New York Gazette May 15.

<sup>b</sup> Advertisement in Porcupine Gazette June 13.

and Liberty," the "New York Federal Song: Washington and the Constitution," and again "Hail Columbia." When engaged for the "Grand Concert" at Ranelagh Garden in New York for July 4<sup>th</sup> he sang the same three songs, and, we doubt not, much to the delight of a patriotic audience.

Indeed the success of "Hail Columbia" was "immediate and emphatic" (Elson). Far beyond the most sanguine expectations of Joseph Hopkinson! Including his song in a letter directed to George Washington under date of May 9, 1798, he wrote:<sup>a</sup>

As to the song it was a hasty composition, and can pretend to very little extrinsic merit—yet I believe its public reception has at least equalled any thing of the kind. The theatres here [Phila.] and at New York have resounded with it night after night; and men and boys in the streets sing it as they go.

Evidently not much to the delight of some reporter who calls it (in the *Centinel of Freedom*, Newark, N. J., July 9, 1799) the "old threadworn song of Hail Columbia."

As might be expected, the words of "Hail Columbia," together with the music of the President's March, were published shortly after the first public performance of the song. In fact only two days had elapsed when Benjamin Carr inserted the following advertisement:<sup>b</sup>

On Monday Afternoon will be published at Carr's Musical Repository, the very favourite New Federal Song, Written to the tune of the President's March, By J. Hopkinson, Esq. And sung by Mr. Fox, at the New Theatre with great applause, ornamented with a very elegant Portrait of the President [scil. John Adams].

No copy of this original edition of "Hail Columbia" has come to light. If Carr published it at all with Adams's portrait, he probably, according to his custom, added his imprint. This leads me to now believe, contrary to my remarks on former occasions, that the edition which is in Mr. Louis C. Elson's possession and which he reproduced in facsimile in his books "*The National Music of America*" (1900) and "*History of American Music*" (1904) is not identical with Carr's original edition, but of a trifle later date. Mr. Elson's unique copy shows the American eagle instead of Adams's portrait and it bears no imprint. These differences are, of course, not conclusive, since Carr may have been unable to secure a suitable picture, yet this difference, together with the fact that he must have had an edition in the press and that he was not in the habit of suppressing his imprint, compels us to assume Carr's edition and the one in Mr. Elson's possession not to have been identical until the identity is proven. The title of Mr. Elson's copy reads:

"The Favorite New Federal Song [American eagle] Adopted to the Presidents March. Sung by Mr. Fox— Written by J. Hopkinson Esqr."

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<sup>a</sup> Comp. William S. Baker's "Washington after the Revolution," 1898.

<sup>b</sup> Comp. *Porcupine Gazette* for Friday 27.

Filling two unpageed inside pages of a musical sheet, it was arranged in C major "for the voice, pianoforte, guitar and clarinett" and this arrangement was followed, as was customary, by an arrangement (in D major) for the flute or violin. Among "new music. Just published" the Federal Gazette, Baltimore, on June 25, 1798, advertised "The President's March," "Hail Columbia, happy land." This may have been a special Baltimore edition by Joseph Carr, or it may simply have referred to Benjamin Carr's Philadelphia edition, or to the one in Mr. Elson's possession, or to:

The President's March, a new Federal Song. Published by G. Willig, Marketstreet, No. 185. Phila.

A copy of this is contained in a miscellaneous volume of "Battles and marches" at the Ridgway branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia, and is here reproduced in facsimile by permission. (See Appendix, Plates VII<sup>2</sup>-VIII.) Willig published at the above address, as we know from the city directories, between 1798 and 1803, but the adjective *new* in the title surely suggests the year 1798. Under the title of "Hail Columbia" the song was first advertised in August, 1798, among "patriotic and other favorite songs" as "just published and for sale at Wm. Howe's wholesale and retail warehouse, 320 Pearl street," New York, but as Howe is merely known as dealer in music, not as a music printer or music publisher, it stands to reason that he merely advertised for sale one or more of the editions so far published.

All these early editions contained the words and the music. The text without music (8° 6 p.), of which a copy is in New York Public Library, was published at Philadelphia under the title of—

Song adapted to the President's march sung at the Theatre by Mr. Fox, at his benefit.

Composed by Joseph Hopkinson, Esq. Printed by J. Ormrod, 41, Chestnut street.

Thus "Hail Columbia" rapidly became a national song regardless of its bombastic and prosaic metaphors. Patriotic songs had been written in America showing this prevailing fault of the times to a lesser degree, and better songs followed—among the latter, however, certainly not the "New Hail Columbia," which begins—

Lo! I quit my native skies—  
To arms! my patriot sons arise

(see p. 45 of James J. Wilson's National Song Book, Trenton, 1813), but none, except Key's "Star-Spangled Banner" and Reverend Smith's "America" were destined to rival the popularity of "Hail Columbia" for almost a century. But as "America" was written to the tune of "God Save the King" and the "Star-Spangled Banner" to the drinking song "To Anacreon in Heaven," at least "Hail Columbia" may claim the distinction in the history of our early national songs of being in poetry and music a product of our soil.

W. T. R. Saffell in his book "Hail Columbia, the Flag, and Yankee Doodle Dandy," Baltimore, 1864, when describing the allegorical-political musical entertainment of The Temple of Minerva, which was performed at Philadelphia in 1781, points out the two lines: "Hail Columbia's godlike son" and "Fill the golden trump of fame." He adds: "Do not 'Hail Columbia,' the 'trump of fame,' and the measure of the chorus, appear to carry Fayles back from 1789 to 1781, for his music, and Hopkinson from 1798 to the same scene and the same year for his words? Who can say but our immortal 'Hail Columbia' had its real origin in 'The Temple of Minerva,' or in the surrender of Cornwallis, when 'Magog among the nations' arose from his lair at Yorktown and shook, in the fury of his power, the insurgent world beneath him? May not Fayles have touched a key in the 'Temple of Minerva' in 1781, and revived the sound in 1789? May not the eye of Hopkinson in 1798 have fallen upon the 'Columbian Parnassiad' of 1787, when the 'Temple of Minerva' first entered the great highway of history? But none the less glory for Mr. Hopkinson." The eye of Joseph Hopkinson might indeed have fallen upon the Columbian Parnassiad in the Columbian Magazine (Philadelphia) for April, 1787, where the "Temple of Minerva" was printed, but "Fayles" certainly did not "touch a key" in this little play. And this for the very simple reason that the "Oratorio" (sic) "was composed and set to Music by a gentleman" who signed himself *H.* With a little critical thought Mr. Saffell might have suspected Francis Hopkinson to have been the author and composer of "The Temple of Minerva," and so he was indeed, as my monograph on "Francis Hopkinson and James Lyon" (1905) has established beyond doubt. Consequently Mr. Saffell's effort to trace the "President's March" back to 1781, by way of "The Temple of Minerva," if I understand his florid fantasies at all, is demolished by plain historical facts. It is different with his suggestion that the author of "Hail Columbia" may have been influenced by "The Temple of Minerva." Joseph Hopkinson of course knew the poetry of his father and probably shared the admiration of many contemporaries for it. Hence it was quite natural for him to remember the two lines quoted above and to unconsciously borrow from them for his own poem. This process was quite probable in his own peculiar case, yet we should be careful not to apply too zealously comparative philological text-criticism to the patriotic songs of those days in order to trace the influence exercised by one poet upon the other. Such apostrophes as "Hail Columbia" were frequently used by the poet-politicians and indeed their patriotic effusions have many stock phrases in common. Similar sentiments were then continually expressed in similar metaphors just as they are to-day. Here, for instance, is the first stanza of a poem which Joseph Hopkinson might

also have read in his youth and parts of which might have lingered in his memory. It was printed in the Federal Gazette, June 23, 1789, and reads:

## A FEDERAL SONG

## For the Anniversary of American Independence

To the tune of "Rule Britannia"

Ye Friends to this auspicious day!  
Come join the fed'r'al, festive band  
And all Columbia—homage pay  
To him who freed thy happy land.  
*Hail Columbia! Columbia! Genius hail!*  
*Freedom ever shall prevail.*

National songs are meant to be sung. The best and most heart-stirring patriotic poems will soon be forgotten if not supported by a melody which catches the public ear. It might be said that Hopkinson's "Hail Columbia" would have conquered the nation with any of the popular tunes of the time, but the fact remains that its immediate and lasting success was actually obtained with the aid of the "President's March." Not all the honor, therefore, is due to Joseph Hopkinson. We musicians are entitled to claim some of the laurels for the composer of the tune which, no matter how little its musical value may be, has become immortal together with the words of "Hail Columbia."

Until recently the musical origin of "Hail Columbia" was as obscure as its literary history was clear. Not that the composer had been treated unkindly by the historians. They tried to lift the veil which covered his name, but their accounts were so contradictory that one claim stood in the way of the other. A methodical analysis of the contradictory accounts left the problem open, and it became probable that merely an accidental find would enable us to solve it.

The reader will have noticed that Hopkinson mentions the "President's March" in his letter without any allusion to its composer. The same applies to Durang in his "History of the Philadelphia Stage" (1854-55) to Dunlap's "History of the American Theatre" (1823), to Wilson's "National Song Book" (1813), to McCarty's "Songs, Odes and other Poems on National Subjects" (1842), and to A. G. Emerick's "Songs for the People" (1848).

The critical investigations began 1859, with an anonymous article in Dawson's "Historical Magazine" (Vol. III, p. 23):

The President's March was composed by a Professor Pfyle, and was played at Trentonbridge when Washington passed over on his way to New York to his inauguration. This information I obtained from one of the performers, confirmed afterwards by a son of said Pfyle. The song "Hail Columbia" was written to the music during the elder Adam's administration, by Judge Hopkinson, and

was first sung by Mr. Fox, a popular singer of the day. I well remember being present at the first introduction of it at the Holiday street theatre, amid the clapping of hands and hissing of the antagonistic parties. Black cockades were worn in those days.

I have also reason to believe that the "Washington March" generally known by that title—I mean the one in key of G major, was composed by the Hon. Francis Hopkinson, senior, having seen it in a manuscript book of his, in his own handwriting among others of his known compositions.

J. C.

The above was published in the "Baltimore Clipper" in 1841, by a person who well understood the subject.

Evidently this person was J. C., whose account was simply reprinted from the Baltimore Clipper.

A somewhat different version appears on page 368 of the "Recollections and Private Memoirs of Washington," by his adopted son George Washington Parke Custis, edited by Benson J. Lossing in 1860.

In New York the play bill was headed "By particular Desire" when it was announced that the president would attend. On those nights the house would be crowded from top to bottom, as many to see the hero as the play. Upon the president's entering the stage box with his family, the orchestra would strike up "The President's March" (now Hail Columbia) composed by a German named Feyles, in '89, in contradistinction, to the march of the Revolution, called "Washington's March".

The audience applauded on the entrance of the president, but the pit and gallery were so truly despotic in the early days of the republic, that so soon as "Hail Columbia" had ceased, "Washington's March" was called for by the deafening din of a hundred voices at once, and upon its being played, three hearty cheers would rock the building to its base.

In the following year, 1861, the "Historical Magazine," which took a vivid interest in the history of our national songs, brought out an article totally contradicting the two already quoted. The article—in Volume V, 280, page 281—is headed "Origin of Hail Columbia" and reads:

In 1829, William Mc Koy of Philadelphia, under the signature "Lang Syne", published in Poulson's Daily Advertiser an account of the origin of the song "Hail Columbia", which was set to the music of "The President's March" . . . Mr. Mc Koy's reminiscences have not, we believe, been reprinted since they were originally published. The article is as follows:

The seat of the Federal Government of the thirteen United States being removed to Philadelphia, and in honour of the new president, Washington, then residing at No. 190 High street, the march, ever since known as "the President's March", was composed by a German teacher of music, in this city, named Roth, or Roat, designated familiarly by those who knew him as "Old Roat". He taught those of his pupils who preferred the flute, to give to that instrument the additional sound of a drone, while playing in imitation of a bagpipe. His residence was at one time in that row of houses standing back from Fifth, above Race street, at the time known as "The Fourteen Chimneys", some of which are still visible in the rear ground, north eastward of Mayer's

church. In his person he was of the middle size and height. His face was truly German in expression, dark grey eyes, and bushy eyebrows, round, pointed nose, prominent lips, and parted chin. He took snuff immoderately, having his vest and ruffles usually well sprinkled with grains of rappée. He was considered as eccentric, and a kind of droll. He was well known traditionally, at the Samson and Lion, in Crown street, where it seems his company, in the olden time, was always a welcome to the pewter-pint customers, gathered there at their pipes and beer, while listening to his facetious tales and anecdotes, without number, of high-life about town, and of the players—Nick Hammond, Miss Tuke, Hodgkinson, Mrs. Pownall, and Jack Martin, of the old theatre in Southwark. This said “President’s March” by Roat, the popular songs of Markoe, the “city poet,” in particular the one called “The Tailor Done over” and the beautiful air of “Dans Votre Lit” which had been rendered popular by its being exquisitely sung at the time, by Wools, of the Old American Company, were sung and whistled by every one who felt freedom (of mind) to whistle and to sing . . .

Public opinion having . . . released itself suddenly from a passion for French Revolutionary music and song, experienced a vacuum in that particular, which was immediately supplied by the new national American song of “Hail Columbia happy Land” written in ’98 by Joseph Hopkinson, Esq. of this city, and the measure adapted by him, very judiciously, to the almost forgotten “President’s March”. Ever since 1798, the song of “Hail Columbia” by Joseph Hopkinson, and the “President’s March” by Johannes Roat, being indiscriminately called for, have become, in a manner, synonymous to the public ear and understanding when they are actually and totally distinct in their origin, as above mentioned.

Following the clue given in this reprint, I found the original article in Poulson’s American Daily Advertiser for Tuesday, January 13, 1829, under the heading “President’s March.” Though this article appears anonymous, there can be no doubt of Mr. McKoy having been the author, for we know from “Watson’s Annals of Philadelphia” that it was he who wrote the series of articles on olden times in Philadelphia, published in said paper during the years 1828 and 1829 and mostly signed “Auld Lang Syne.”

In the same year that this gentleman’s account was reprinted in the Historical Magazine, Richard Grant White’s “National Hymns, How They Are Written and How They Are Not Written,” left the press. What this author has to say on the origin of the “President’s March” is contained in a footnote on page 22:

. . . The air to which Hopkinson wrote “Hail Columbia” was a march written by a German band master on occasion of a visit of Washington, when President, to the old John Street Theatre in New York.

A similar view as to the musical origin of the song is held by W. T. R. Saffell in his book “Hail Columbia, the Flag, and Yankee Doodle Dandy, Baltimore, 1864.” He says, on page 53:

A piece of music set for the harpsichord, entitled the “President’s March” was composed in 1789, by a German named Fayles, on the occasion of Washington’s first visit to a theatre in New York.

Rev. Elias Nason, on page 33 of his monograph, "A Monogramm on Our National Song . . . 1869," is equally meager, equally omniscient, and equally opposed to giving authorities when he writes:

. . . on Washington's first attendance at the theatre in New York, 1789, a German by the name of Fyles composed a tune to take place of "Washington's March," christening it with the name of "President's March."

Some years later, in 1872, Benson J. Lossing reprinted in Volume I (pp. 550-554) of his "American Historical Record" a paper on "The Star-Spangled Banner and National Airs," which the Hon. Stephan Salisbury had read before the American Antiquarian Society, October 21, 1872. In regard to "Hail Columbia" this author says:

Poulson's Advertiser of 1829 mentions that this song was set to the music of "the President's March" by Johannes Roth, a German music teacher in that city. And the Historical Magazine, vol. 3, page 23, quotes from the Baltimore Clipper of 1841 that the "President's March" was composed by Professor Phyla of Philadelphia, and was played at Trenton in 1789, when Washington passed over to New York to be inaugurated, as it was stated by a son of Professor Phyla, who was one of the performers.

Rear-Admiral George Henry Preble, in his "History of the Flag of the United States; Boston, 1880," wrote:

The "President's March" was a popular air, and the adaptation easy. It was composed in honour of President Washington, then residing at No. 190 High Street Philadelphia, by a teacher of music, named Roth, <sup>a</sup> or Roat, familiarly known as "Old Roat." He was considered as an eccentric, and kind of a droll, and took snuff immoderately. Philip Roth, teacher of music, described as living at 25 Crown Street, whose name appears in all the Philadelphia directories from 1791 to 1799, inclusive, was probably the author of the march.

According to his son, who asserted he was one of the performers, the march was composed by Professor Phyla, of Philadelphia, and was played at Trenton, in 1789, when Washington passed over to New York to be inaugurated.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Poulson's Advertiser 1829.

<sup>b</sup> Historical Magazine, Volume III, 23.

Baltimore Clipper, 1841.

American Historical Record Volume I, 53. Hon. S. Salisbury's paper before the American Antiquarian Society 1872.

John Bach McMaster, the celebrated author of "A History of the People of the United States; New York," has something to say on the subject in Volume I, on pages 564-565:

At the John street theatre in New York, "in a box adorned with fitting emblems, the President was to be seen much oftener than many of the citizens approved. On such occasions the 'President's March' was always played. It had been composed by Phyles, the leader of the few violins and drums that passed for the orchestra, and played for the first time on Trenton Bridge as Washington rode over on his way to be inaugurated. The air had a martial ring that caught the ear of the multitude, soon became popular as Washington's March, and when Adams was President, in a moment of great party excitement Judge Hopkinson wrote and adapted to it the famous lines beginning 'Hail Columbia.'"

Mary L. D. Ferris, in a clever but superficial causerie on "Our National Songs" in the New England Magazine, new series, July, 1890 (pp. 483-504), expresses her opinion briefly, thus:

The music of Hail Columbia was composed in 1789, one hundred years ago, by Professor Phylo of Philadelphia, and played at Trenton, when Washington was en route to New York to be inaugurated. The tune was originally called the President's March.

In the same year (1890) appeared John Philip Sousa's semiofficial work, "National, Patriotic, and Typical Airs of All Lands with Copious Notes, compiled by order and for use of the Navy Department." Of the "President's March" Sousa remarks:

On the occasion of Gen. Washington's attendance at the John St. Theatre in New York, in 1789, a German named Fyles, who was leader of the orchestra, composed a piece in compliment of him and called it the "President's March," which soon became a popular favorite.

In the first of a series of articles on our national songs, published 1897, April 29, in the Independent, E. Irenaeus Stevenson maintains that "Hail Columbia" is rather a "personal" than a national song, having been, as he imagines, written in honor of George Washington. But this is not his only blunder, for he not even knew that the "Washington's March" and the "President's March" were two entirely different pieces.

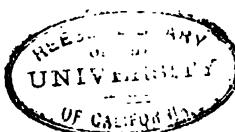
The very air to the words confirms one in wishing that "Hail Columbia" would remain solely an artless souvenir belonging to Washington. For the tune was not written to Judge Hopkinson's words. It was a little instrumental march, called "Washington's March," of vast vogue circa 1797, a march composed in honour of the first President by a German musician named Phazles, Phylz, Phyla, or Pfalz, of New York. Phazles looked after musical matters in the old theatre on John Street; and apparently he really wrote, not imported, the tune. Judge Hopkinson fitted to it the address to Washington, in 1798.

When George Washington, on Sunday, May 27, 1798, acknowledged the receipt of "Hail Columbia" sent to him by Joseph Hopkinson on May 9, he "offered an absence for more than eight days from home as an apology for . . . not giving . . . an earlier acknowledgment." The polite note has been reprinted by William S. Baker in his work already quoted. Baker adds the following editorial footnote:

The song referred to in the above quoted letter was the national air, "Hail Columbia," the words of which were written by Joseph Hopkinson and adapted to the music of the "President's March" composed in 1789 by a German named Fyles, who at the time was the leader of the orchestra at the John Street Theatre in New York.

A similar version appears in S. J. Adair FitzGerald's Stories of Famous Songs. London, 1897, on page 100:

The music was taken from a piece, called "The President's March," which had seen the light ten years previously. It was composed by a German named Fyles on some special visit of Washington's to the John Street Theatre, New York.



Col. Nicholas Smith in his "Stories of Great National Songs," Milwaukee, 1899, becomes involuntarily humorous, when saying (on p. 41):

The "President's March" was composed in 1789 by a German professor in Philadelphia, named Phylo, alias Feyles, alias Thyla, alias Phyla, alias Roth, and was first played at Trenton when Washington was on his way to New York to be inaugurated president.

The few lines which Howard Futhey Brinton says to the subject in his "Patriotic Songs of the American People," New Haven, 1900, may also find a place here:

Of the then current tunes none caught the popular fancy more than the "President's March," which had been composed in 1789 by a German named Feyles, in honour of General Washington.

Louis C. Elson is the last writer whom I have to quote. In his widespread work "The National Music of America and its Sources, Boston, 1900," we read (on pp. 157-159) a very much more elaborate account than the last ones mentioned:

. . . it is definitely known that the composition was written in 1789, and that it was called "The President's March." Regarding its first performance and its composer there is some doubt. William Mc. Koy in "Poulson's Advertiser" for 1829 states that the march was composed by a German musician in Philadelphia, named Johannee Roth. He is also called "Roat" and "Old Roat" in some accounts. That there was a Philip Roth living in Philadelphia at about this time may be easily proved, for his name is found in the city directories from 1791 to 1799.<sup>a</sup> He appears as "Roth, Philip, teacher of music, 25 Crown St." Washington at this time was a fellow citizen of this musician for he lived at 190 High Street, Philadelphia.

But there is another claimant to the work. There was also in Philadelphia at this time a German musician, whose name is spelled in many different ways by the commentators. He is called "Phyla", "Philo", "Pthylo" and "Pfyles" by various authors. None of these seems like a German name, but it is possible that the actual name may have been Pfeil.<sup>b</sup> This gentleman of doubtful cognomen claims the authorship of the march in question, or rather his son has claimed it for him. The march is also claimed by this son to have been first played on Trenton Bridge as Washington rode over, on his way to the New York inauguration. Richard Grant White, however, states, on what authority we know not, that the work was first played on the occasion of a visit of Washington to the old John Street Theatre in New York.

It is evident that all these different accounts are based directly or indirectly upon the three contradictory versions of William McKoy in Poulson's Advertiser, 1829, of J. C. in the Baltimore Clipper, 1841, and of George Washington Parke Custis, 1860. Later accounts con-

<sup>a</sup> History of the Flag of the United States, by Rear Admiral Geo. Henry Preble, p. 719.

<sup>b</sup> Through the courtesy of John W. Jordan, Esq., librarian of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, we learn that the first Philadelphia "City Directory" was published in 1785, the second in 1791. In neither of these does the name of any musician bearing any resemblance to the ones given above appear.

tain nothing substantially new except when confusing the problem by incorrect and uncritical quotations from unmentioned sources, as in the case of Rev. Elias Nason who inaccurately copied R. Grant White's superficial footnote.

If our problem can be solved, it will be possible only by critically investigating *pro et contra* the data given in the reports of 1829, 1841, and 1860.

These data are:

1. The march ever since known as the "President's March" was composed by a German teacher of music in Philadelphia, named Johannes Roat or Roth, "the seat of the Federal Government of the thirteen United States being removed to Philadelphia and in honour of the new President Washington, then residing at No. 190 High street" (Mc. Koy).

2) The President's March was composed by Professor Pfyle and was played at Trentonbridge when Washington passed over on his way to New York to his inauguration. (Information obtained by J. C. from "one of the performers" confirmed afterwards by a son of said Pfyle.)

3) The President's March was composed by a German, named Fyles in 1789 and was played upon President George Washington's entrance into the stage box with his family. (Recollections by George Washington Parke Custis.)

To begin with the first version: Who was this German teacher of music, by the name of Roth?

Even the most careful research in the old newspapers, magazines, directories, and in books relating to the early theatrical and musical life of the United States will add but very little to the following few items: I find Roth first mentioned in the year 1771. On December 5 a concert advertised in the Pennsylvania Gazette for November 28, by "Mr. John M'Lean (Instructor of the German Flute)" in Philadelphia, was to "conclude with an *overture*, composed (for the occasion) by *Philip Roth*, master of the band belonging to his Majesty's Royal Regiment of British Fusiliers."

Not until 1785 have I again found his name mentioned. But in this year we read his name in the first City Directory of Philadelphia, published by White. He appears there as "*Roots*, Philip, music maker, Sixth between Arch and Race streets." We next read his name in an advertisement in the Pennsylvania Journal (Phila.) for September 10, 1788.

"*Mr. Roth, Music Master in Pennington Alley, running from Race to Vine Streets, between Fourth and Fifth Streets, teacher all kinds of Instrumental Music in the shortest manner, viz. Harpsichord or Piano Forte, Guitar, Flute, Hautboy, Clarinet, Bassoon, French Horn, Harp and Thorough Bass, which is the Ground of Music.*"

The third item which I was able to trace shows Roth again as a composer.

The "Columbian Magazine" (Phila.) brought out in the April number of 1790 "A Hunting Song. Set to Music by Mr. Roth, of Philadelphia." It is written in E flat major and in the intentionally simple style of the German Volkslieder of that period, to the words: "Ye sluggards who murder your lifetime in bed, etc." Needless to say that the song is of little musical value.

The first directory for Philadelphia had been published in 1785. The second was issued in 1791, the third in 1793; after that the directory was issued annually. In all these, till 1805, we run across the "musician" or "teacher of music" or "music master" Philip Roth, his name being spelled from 1803-1805 "Rothe." He lived from 1791 to 1794 in 25 Crownst; from 1799-1803 in 33 Crownst, whereas for the years 1795-1798 his residence is given without a house number as in "Crownst." We find in the directory for 1806 "Rote, widow of Philip, music master, 94 N. Seventh." This would suggest 1805 as date of his death, but Mr. Drummond of the University of Pennsylvania informed me that the city records show Roth to have died in 1804.

That Philip Roth, besides teaching "all kinds of instrumental music in the shortest manner," played in the concert and opera orchestras of Philadelphia is highly probable, but he never appears as a soloist or as a composer in the many concerts given there till 1800, the programmes of which I have copied as far as I was able to trace them in the newspapers.

Of course, the last remark interferes in no way with the possibility of his having composed the "President's March." Mr. McKoy's claims must be considered as not contrary to chronology and circumstances in regard to Roth's person, and his misspelling the name and calling him Johannes instead of Philip matters very little. But otherwise his claims are suspicious, though he seems to have known Roth well.

The reader will have noticed that McKoy does not mention the year in which the "President's March" was composed. This is of importance, as his narrative excludes the years 1774-1788, during which we had fifteen presidents of the Continental Congress, and also the year 1789, when George Washington became President of the United States. The seat of government was not removed to Philadelphia until the fall of 1790. It had been, from 1789 to the date of removal, in New York and not in Philadelphia. If, therefore, McKoy's statement is correct the march was composed in 1790. In this case however the remark "in honour of the new President" loses its sense.

But the lines might represent an excusable slip of memory, and the march might have been written by Roth and played in honor of the President when passing through Philadelphia on his way to New York in 1789.

Washington left Mount Vernon on the 16th of April; reached Philadelphia on the 20th and continued his voyage the following day.<sup>a</sup> The Pennsylvania Journal (W., April 22), the Pennsylvania Mercury (T., April 21), the Independent Gazetteer (T., April 21), the Pennsylvania Packet (T., April 21), the Freeman's Journal (W., April 22), and the Pennsylvania Gazette (W., April 22) all give an account of the President's reception at Philadelphia, but none of these papers, except the Pennsylvania Gazette, refer to any music having been played at the entertainment and this paper only in a vague way:

"Philadelphia, April 22.

Monday last His Excellency George Washington, Esq., the President Elect of the United States, arrived in this city, about one o'clock, accompanied by the President of the State . . . troops . . . and a numerous concourse of citizens on horseback and foot.

His Excellency rode in front of the procession, on horseback . . . The bells were rung thro' the day and night, and a feu de joy was fired as he moved down Market and Second Street to the City Tavern . . . At three o'clock His Excellency sat down to an elegant Entertainment of 250 covers at the City Tavern, prepared for him by the citizens of Philadelphia. A band of music played during the entertainment and a discharge of artillery took place at every toast among which was, the State of Virginia."

This meager notice and the silence of the other papers in regard to music are significant. Had the band played a march composed in honor of the illustrious guest, the papers would have mentioned the fact, as it was their habit of doing on similar occasions. This statement can be proved over and over and will be supported by all who have had occasion to study our early newspapers and their habits.

For the same reasons, Mr. McKoy's claims, even if taken literally, which would imply that the President's March was written in 1790 when the seat of government was actually removed to Philadelphia, contain no evidential strength.

During the President's short stay in Philadelphia:

. . . an elegant Fête Champêtre was given to this illustrious personage, his amiable consort and family . . . [Sept. 4.] on the banks of the Schuylkill, in the highly improved grounds of the messrs. Gray, by a number of respectable citizens. . . A band of music played during the repast, and at the close of the repast several excellent songs were sung, and toasts were given.

Neither this account which appeared in the Pennsylvania Packet for Wednesday, September 8, 1790, nor any other, mentions a piece

<sup>a</sup> Comp. McMaster, I, 538 or Baker.

of music composed "for the occasion." It would have been quite contrary to the practice of our early newspapers to have omitted reference to a piece written and played in honor of the new president.

Consequently McKoy's version, in spite of the fact that he was a contemporary and fellow-citizen of Philip Roth, becomes very doubtful. Had he attributed the "President's March" to this musician without going into details, his case would have been much stronger. We then might have admitted the probability that he knew the history of the march either from Roth himself or from others conversant with the matter.

In its actual form, however, McKoy's statement not only contains a *contradictio in adjecto*, but it is contradicted moreover by two of his contemporaries, one of whom claimed to have been among the original performers of the march and the other to have been a son of the composer. If the claims made for Roth had been known to either of these two gentlemen, they emphatically would have denied their correctness, and at least a short reference to this protest would have slipped into J. C.'s account. Evidently Philip Roth was not generally considered outside of Philadelphia as author of the march, nay, not even in Philadelphia itself, for we shall see that "Professor Pfyle," too, resided for years in Philadelphia. Certainly his son would have heard of Roth's claims if such were made, and he would not have failed, in his conversation with J. C., to prove the fallacy of claims which unjustly robbed his father of the glory of having written the air to one of our national songs.

On what grounds Mr. McKoy attributes the piece to Roth we have no way of ascertaining. We have to content ourselves with the fact that chronology and circumstances command weight against his theory. Unless an early copy of the President's March is discovered, printed or in manuscript, bearing Roth's name as author, it would be uncritical to accept his authorship as a historical fact.

But who was "Professor Pfyle," alias Fayles, alias Feyles, alias Fyles, alias Pfalz, alias Pfazles, alias Pfeil, alias Pfyles, alias Philo, alias Phyla, alias Phyles, alias Phylo, alias Phylz, alias Thyla?

J. C.'s spelling seems to corroborate Elson's idea that the actual name was the German "Pfeil," anglicized later on into Ffyle. But the numerous instances in which the name of this "gentleman of doubtful cognomen" appears in newspaper advertisements, etc., leave no doubt that in America he spelled his name Phile. Only once is the name given with a different spelling. This name of Phile was not so uncommon after all in America, as I find five different "Phile's" in the two first Philadelphia city directories.

On Saturday, March 6, 1784, a concert was advertised at Philadelphia, in the Pennsylvania Packet, "For the Benefit of Mr. Phile," in which he and a Mr. Brown "for that night only" were to play "A

Double Concerto for the Violin and Flute." This concert was postponed from March 18 to the following Tuesday, March 23. Previous to 1784 I have not found Phile mentioned.

He must have been an able violinist, for when the Old American Company of Comedians returned in 1785 to the Continent from the West Indies, where they had sought refuge in the fall of 1774, he was made leader of the orchestra. To quote Charles Durang, who in his rare and interesting "History of the Philadelphia Stage" (Ch. IX) throws "professional side lights" on the different performers in 1785:

The orchestra was composed of the following musicians; Mr. Philo, leader; Mr. Bentley, harpsichord; Mr. Woolf, principal clarinet; Trimner, Hecker, and son, violoncello, violins etc. Some six or seven other names, now not remembered, constituted the musical force. The latter were all Germans.

On July 18, 1786, was to be performed in New York,<sup>a</sup> under the direction of Mr. Reinagle, the "vocal parts by Miss Maria Storer," "A Grand Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music." The first part of the concert was to consist "chiefly of Handel's Sacred Music, as performed in Westminster Abbey. The Second Part miscellaneous." Phile was engaged as soloist in the first part, his name appearing thus in the program: "Concerto Violin . . . Mr. Phile," and Mr. Reinagle and Mr. Phile were to play a "Duett for Violin and Violoncello" in the second part.

We next find him at Philadelphia in 1787<sup>b</sup> and again in connection with a concert. It was the one for Monday, January 15, at the Southwark Theater. The concert was interspersed with "Lectures Moral and Entertaining," and concluded with the "Grand Pantomimical Finale. In two Acts called Robinson Crusoe." We read in the "First Act": "Rondeau—Mr. Phile."

He can not have remained very long in Philadelphia, because we find him a month after his concert engagement in Philadelphia at New York and offering his services as music teacher. The advertisement reads:<sup>c</sup>

Music. Philip Phile, most respectfully offers his service to Lovers of Instrumental Musick, in Teaching the Violin and German Flute methodically. Attendance will be given at his Lodgings No. 82 Chatham Row, near Vandewater. He will also wait on such Gentlemen, as would wish to take Lessons, at their own Houses.

N. B. Musick copied at the above mentioned place.

Feb. 20.

Not quite two months after this advertisement was inserted Phile reappeared in public in Philadelphia, and it seems as if he was expressly called from New York. The "Syllabus" of the magnificent "First Uranian Concert," which was performed at the German

<sup>a</sup> N. Y. Packet 1786, July 13.

<sup>b</sup> Pa. Packet, Jan. 13, 1787.

<sup>c</sup> N. Y. Daily Advertiser, Feb. 21, 1787.

Reformed Church on April 12, 1787, under the direction of the ambitious Andrew Adgate,<sup>a</sup> contains his name among the "Authors" in the following manner: "IV . . . Concerto Violino By Mr. Phile of New York."

In the following year "Mr. Rehine's Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music," which was to have taken place on November 26 at the City Tavern in Philadelphia, was "postponed on account of the badness of the weather 'till Friday Evening the 29th.'" In this concert the restless Mr. Phile was to play "Solo Violino" in the first act.<sup>b</sup>

An entire "Amateurs Concert" was given "For the Benefit of Philip Phile" on January 29, 1789, "at the house of Henry Epple in Racestreet." The orchestral numbers were three "Grand Overtures" by Vanhall, Haydn, and Martini. As soloists we notice Reinagle with a pianoforte sonata, Wolf with a "Concerto Clarinetto," and Phile. The latter played in the first act a "Concerto Violino" and in the second a "Solo Violino."

It really seems as if Phile was the fashionable violin virtuoso of the day, constantly "on the road" between New York and Philadelphia, for again a "Violin Concerto by Phile" was to be performed at "A Concert of Sacred Music" which the recently founded "Musical Society of New York" gave on Thursday, June 18, 1789, at the Lutheran Church in order to cover the expenses resulting from the purchase of an organ by the Society.<sup>c</sup>

It may be that during all these years Phile remained the leader of the orchestra of the Old American Company, but it is by no means certain, as the fact is nowhere mentioned. We only know (from Durang) that he held this position about 1785. If some of the writers whom I have quoted claim that he was the leader of the orchestra in the John Street Theater at New York in 1789, they forgot to refer to their source of information, and therefore can not be considered as historically trustworthy.

Phile became tired of his erratic life and he decided to "continue his residence" in Philadelphia. Of this decision he gave public notice in the Pennsylvania Packet for December 16, 1789:

Mr. Phile most respectfully informs the citizens of Philadelphia, particularly those Gentlemen he had the honour to instruct formerly, that the unavoidable necessity which occasioned his absence has now ceased, and that he is determined to continue his residence in this city.

He hopes from the many proofs he has afforded of his abilities as a Teacher of different Instruments of Music, to meet with the Patronage of a generous Public. He proposes to instruct Gentlemen on the Violin, Flute, Clarinet and Bassoon. Mr. Phile is willing to render every satisfaction; this, with a particular attention to those Gentlemen who may please to encourage him, will, he trusts, establish the Reputation he is desirous to merit.

<sup>a</sup> Pa. Packet, April 9.

<sup>b</sup> Federal Gazette, Nov. 26, 1788.

<sup>c</sup> N. Y. Daily Adv. and N. Y. Daily Gaz. for June 12, 1789.

Directions to Mr. Phile, living in Race street between Front and Second street, will be punctually attended to. N. B. Music copied. Philadelphia, Dec. 14.

Undoubtedly Phile resided at Philadelphia during the year 1790, as on March 18, 1790, "A Concert of Vocal and Instrumental Music for the Benefit of Mr. Phile" was to be given,<sup>a</sup> and as half a year later, on Saturday, October 16, he performed a "Flute Concert" at Messrs. Gray's Gardens, the entertainment concluding with "Harmony Music by Mr. Phile."<sup>b</sup>

These concerts at Gray's fashionable gardens were held regularly during the summer months and were by no means of the "rooftop garden" order. The best performers of Philadelphia were engaged for the instrumental and vocal solos, and music only of composers then considered as the best was played. The concert mentioned, for instance, comprised grand overtures by Haydn, Schmitt, Martini, and symphonies by Stamitz and Abel.

For the years 1791 and 1792 I have not been able to trace Phile's name, but I find him as "Phile Philip, music master, 207 Sassafras Street" in the Philadelphia directory for 1793. Then he disappears, and it is very likely that he died a victim of the yellow fever epidemic raging so terribly at Philadelphia during 1793, for we notice a "Phile, Susanna, widow, Washer, 86 No. Fourth st." in the directory for 1794.

This is a *curriculum vitae* of Philip Phile, as far as I could glean it from newspapers and other sources. Not once is he mentioned as author of the "President's March." However, as he evidently was a composer besides being a violin virtuoso, so far neither chronology nor circumstances seriously weaken J. C.'s or Custis's claims in favor of Phile.

George Washington Parke Custis claimed that the march was composed by a German named Fyles in 1789, in contradistinction to [Francis Hopkinson's!] Washington's March, and that it was struck up when the President entered the stage box with his family. He does not state when the march was first played, far less does he claim that the march was composed for the occasion of Washington's first visit to the John Street Theater in New York. We have to examine his account as it stands and are not justified in embellishing it, as Saffell, Nason, and others have done.

I feel inclined to trust Custis's version neither as a solid basis for air castles, nor as a reflex of direct and authentic information bearing upon the subject, nor as a supplementary evidence in favor of J. C.'s Phile tradition.

It might be objected that Custis, having become a member of Washington's family a few months after his birth, ought to be considered a reliable witness and out of reach of historical skepticism.

Certainly, if it were evident that he visited the theater with the president on May 11, June 5, November 24 and 30, 1789, the only

<sup>a</sup> Pa. Packet, T. March 16, 1790.

<sup>b</sup> Federal Gazette, Fr. Oct. 15, 1790.

four times, according to Baker's "Washington after the Revolution," and Paul Leicester Ford's charming book, "Washington and the theater,"<sup>a</sup> that the president attended theatrical performances in New York. This, however, is not the case, and we have no means of ascertaining whether or not Custis himself heard the President's March played on these occasions. In the second place, are the recollections of a boy of 8 years reliable? Certainly not; but this argument applies to Custis, who was born in 1781, on the 30th of April.<sup>b</sup> Furthermore, the "Recollections" were written during a period of thirty years, and their preface is dated by the author "Arlington House Near Alexandria, Va. 1856." Is it not most likely that Custis, when "recollecting" the events of the year 1789, was forced to supplement his or his family's reminiscences with information gained from other sources, in particular from tradition and the study of books?

When a boy of 8 years George Washington Parke Custis probably was not very much interested in the name of the composer of a march. Even if he was, such early recollections can not be considered a safe basis for critical history. If he learned the name later on, especially after twenty or thirty years had elapsed, then his account has merely the strength of hearsay. Neither the diary which Washington kept in 1789, nor the old newspapers, nor other contemporary sources mention a performance of the President's March at the New York theater in 1789, nor have such lovers of historical minutiae discovered any reference to that effect. Possibly the "President's March" was played in 1789 on one or several occasions when George Washington visited the theater, but we are not obliged nor even justified in admitting it, and with the admission of this possibility as a fact we would still be very distant from positive proof of the authenticity of Custis's statement that the "President's March" was composed by Phile in 1789.

"The President's March," said J. C., "was composed by a Professor Pfyle, and was played at Trenton bridge when Washington passed over on his way to New York to his inauguration."

It seems not to have entered the mind of any of the historians quoted, except William S. Baker, to search for the contemporary accounts of this occasion. The research would not have caused them very much trouble, as quite a number of newspapers printed reports of the "respectful ceremonies" at Trenton, among them the Pennsylvania Mercury for Saturday, May 2, 1789; the Pennsylvania Packet for M., April 27, and the New York Journal for April 30. By neglecting the newspapers the writers missed a most important clue, as will readily be seen from the report printed in the Pennsylvania Packet:

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<sup>a</sup> Published in 1899 as No. 8 of the New Series of the Dunlap Society Publications.

<sup>b</sup> Comp. Appleton or the "Memoir of George Washington Parke Custis" prefixed by his daughter to the "Recollections."

A Sonata Sung by a Number of young Girls, dressed in white and decked with Wreaths and Chaplets of Flowers, holding Baskets of Flowers in their Hands, as General Washington passed under the triumphal Arch, raised on the Bridge at Trenton, April 21, 1789.

Welcome, mighty chief! once more,  
Welcome to this grateful shore  
Now no mercenary foe  
Aims again the fatal blow  
Aims at thee the fatal blow.  
Virgins fair and Matrons grave  
Those thy conquering arms did save—  
Build for thee triumphal bowers!  
Strew, ye fair, his way with flowers—  
Strew your Hero's way with flowers.

As they sung these Lines they strewed the Flowers before the General, who halted until the Sonata was finished. The General being presented with a Copy of the Sonata, was pleased to address the following Card to the Ladies.

To the Ladies of Trenton . . .

General Washington cannot leave this Place without expressing his Acknowledgments to the Matrons and Young Ladies who received him in so novel and graceful a Manner at the Triumphal Arch in Trenton, for the exquisite Sensations he experienced in that affecting moment.

The astonishing Contrast between his former and actual Situation at the same spot, the elegant Taste with which it was adorned for the present occasion—and the innocent Appearance of the White Robed Choir who met him with the gratulatory Song—have made such an impression on his Remembrance, as, he assures them, will never be effaced.

Trenton, April 21, 1789.

The other papers referred to brought similar reports, all printing sonata instead of cantata, with this important addition, however: "Sonata, composed <sup>a</sup> and set to music for the occasion." Of other music performed at Trenton bridge on this day, and especially of music composed for the occasion, not a syllable in any of the reports.

One is almost led to suppose that this "Sonata" was the piece alluded to by J. C. and attributed by one of the performers, and later by Phile's son, to Philip Phile as the "President's March."

At last the problem appears to approach solution. J. C.'s statement seems to be corroborated to the degree of circumstantial evidence by this account, and Philip Phile, indeed, seems to have been, beyond reasonable doubt, the author of the much-disputed march. Our joy is premature.

New Music. Just published (Price 3 S. 9) and to be Sold by Rice & Co. Book-sellers; South side Market near Second Street.

A chorus, sung before General Washington, as he passed under the triumphal Arch raised on the Bridge at Trenton, April 21st. 1789; composed and dedicated by permission, to Mrs. Washington By A. Reinagle.

This advertisement was published in the Pennsylvania Packet, Tuesday, December 29, 1789. Therewith we have a third and formidable claimant in the person of one of the foremost musicians in the

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<sup>a</sup> Mr. Baker attributes the words to Maj. Richard Howell, later on governor of New Jersey.

country, the composer of numerous operas, sonatas, songs, marches, in particular of the "Federal March," written for and performed at Philadelphia on July 4, 1788, in the grand procession in honor of the Constitution, the only known copy of which is now in the Library of Congress. If the music of the chorus sung on the bridge at Trenton was identical with that of the President's March, then, of course, Alexander Reinagle's music was wedded to "Hail Columbia," and not Philip Phile's. Fortunately a copy of the "Chorus" is still extant to throw light on the puzzling situation. In their pamphlet on "Washington's reception by the ladies of Trenton," the Society of Iconophiles published in 1903 a reduced facsimile in copper photogravure of the piece as once in possession of Maj. Richard Howell, supposed author of the poem in question. The extremely rare piece bears this title:

Chorus sung before Gen. Washington as he passed under the Triumphal arch raised on the bridge at Trenton, April 21st, 1789. Set to music and dedicated by permission to Mrs. Washington by A. Reinagle. Price  $\frac{1}{2}$  dollar. Philadelphia. Printed for the author, and sold by H. Rice, Market Street.

The instrumental introduction and the first bars of the chorus may follow here to prove conclusively that Reinagle's chorus and the President's March are not identical.

Pivace.

*f* 2D VOICE.

Wel-come  
1st VOICE.  
*p* Wel-come  
*f* 3D VOICE.

Wel-come  
*f* Welcome, Welcome, Wel-come, Welcome  
Wel-come  
*f* Welcome, Welcome, Wel-come, Welcome

Here, then, is a puzzling situation. Phile's son claimed that a march known as the President's March and composed by his father was played on the bridge at Trenton, and that he was one of the performers. On the other hand, there exists a composition by Reinagle, the title of which would seem to leave no doubt that it was played and sung on the same occasion to the words "Welcome, mighty chief! once more." If we were permitted to assume that *both* compositions figured on the programme of the festivities at Trenton, that would clear the situation somewhat, but no contemporary account mentions any music but the so-called "Sonata." Had the "President's March" been composed for the occasion the fact surely would have been mentioned in the newspapers. Even if "The President's March" was already so popular as to be played as a matter of course in the presence of the President, the probabilities are that the march would have been reported by name or at least that the contemporary reports would have alluded to the performance of other music besides the "Sonata." Such, however, is not the case, and the issue can not be avoided. Either Reinagle's chorus was sung or "The President's March" had been fitted to Major Howell's words. Under the circumstances it is fortunate that the rendition of Reinagle's chorus on the bridge at Trenton, all appearances to the contrary notwithstanding, is very doubtful for the following reasons:

(1) The printed title allows to read a distinction between *chorus sung*, which would then mean "words sung" and *set to music*.

(2) They must have been sung before Washington on April 21, whereas Reinagle's composition was advertised in the *Pennsylvania Packet*, Philadelphia, December 29, 1789, as *just published*. An unusual interval between performance and publication.

(3) Reinagle's piece is engraved for "2 voice. 1 voice. 3 voice" with pianoforte accompaniment apparently reduced from orchestral score. The 3. voice stands in the bass clef, and the whole is composed for either a mixed chorus or a 3-part male chorus. But the *Sonata* was sung "by a number of young girls," and of a band or orchestra assisting on the occasion and accompanying the singers no mention is made.

Any of these three observations alone might carry little weight. Together they do, and combined with a fourth they appear to bear out the doubt that Reinagle's chorus was not composed for April 21, 1789. The "Plan" (programme) of the "New York Subscription Concert" for Tuesday, September 15, 1789, as it appears in the *Daily Advertiser* for the same day, reads:

After the first act, will be performed a chorus, to the words that were sung, as Gen. Washington passed the Bridge at Trenton—The Music now composed by Mr. Reinagle.

This implies that Reinagle's setting, published in December, was *not* the one sung when General Washington passed the bridge. Consequently Reinagle no longer interferes with the Phile tradition. The claim put forth for Phile's authorship of the President's March is by no means yet proved, but it remains unshaken. It would be decidedly strengthened if it could be shown that the "Music of the Sonata" actually sung on April 21, 1789, and of the "President's March" were identical. As Reinagle did not compose the music for the occasion, and as Phile is the only other musician mentioned in connection with said occasion, appearances seem to be in his favor until counterbalanced by the observation that the claim for Phile is based upon the reminiscences of one of the original performers confirmed later by Phile's son. The term *performer* without the addition *vocal* generally applies to a performer on some instrument. To have been a *performer* on said occasion would infer that the "Sonata" was sung with instrumental accompaniment. To repeat it, nothing goes to show that such was the case. But in order not to push arguments too far, the possibility may be admitted either that the performer was a vocal performer, *scilicet*, one of the "young girls," or that the "Sonata" was really sung with instrumental accompaniment though not so described in any of the reports. We might even allow the combination of both possibilities for the simplification of matters. In that case the words of the "Sonata" were either fitted to the already popular "President's March," or this march was composed for the occasion and subsequently became popular under the name of "The President's March." However, all this seems to be impossible, for a very simple reason. In my opinion the words of the "Sonata" can not have been sung to any of the versions of "The President's March." Every attempt to fit the words of the "Sonata" to this march fails, even after the boldest surgical operations. Consequently, unless others succeed with such attempts, the conclusion is inevitable that the "Sonata" sung on the bridge at Trenton and the "President's March" were not identical. It follows that J. C.'s statement of 1841, like McKoy's of 1829, contains a serious flaw. Therefore we are not justified in accepting it as authentic.

To prove the point just raised, some of the earliest versions of the "President's March" are here submitted either in facsimile or in transcript. At the same time these musical quotations will show the musical genesis and partial transformation of "Hail Columbia" about the year 1800.

(1) The arrangement for two flutes, on page 3, of the first number of R. Shaw's and B. Carr's "Gentleman's Amusement," Philadelphia, Carr, April, 1794. See facsimile of the copy at the Library of Congress (Appendix, Pl. IX). (This "Gentleman's Amusement" is

identical with the one advertised in the New York Daily Advertiser, May 8, 1794, as "Philadelphia printed for Shaw & Co.")

(2) "President's March." Philadelphia, G. Willig, Mark[et] street 185, and therefore published between 1798 and 1803. See facsimile of the copy at the Library of Congress in Appendix, Plate X.

(3)

The President's March as in Shaw's Flute Preceptor. Philadelphia, 1802.



(4)

The President's March as in the "Compleat Tutor for the Fife," Philadelphia, G. Willig, ca. 1805.



Now, it is a singular fact that, to my knowledge, "The President's March" is nowhere mentioned in contemporary sources before the year 1794. That it was popular about 1794 is clear, as it otherwise would hardly have been printed in Shaw and Carr's "Gentleman's Amusement." Some months later the Old American Company, then playing at the Cedar Street Theatre in Philadelphia, advertised in the American Daily Advertiser, September 22, for the same evening that—

. . . previous to the tragedy [the Grecian Daughter] the band will play a new Federal Overture, in which are introduced several popular airs; Marseilles hymn, Ça ira, O dear what can the matter be, Rose Tree, Carmagnole, "Presidents' March," Yankee Doodle, etc. Composed by Mr. Carr.

This "Federal Overture," by Benjamin Carr, was published 1795 in an arrangement for two flutes in the fifth number of Shaw and Carr's "Gentleman's Amusement." Had the march been well known as "The President's March" in 1789 and later, why should A. Reinagle's much less popular "Federal March" and Sicard's "New Constitutional March and Federal Minuet" (both 1788) and other patriotic pieces have been published and not "The President's March?" And if published, advertisements to that effect would have appeared before 1794 in the newspapers, as was the case with all early American musical publications, either sacred or secular. We must not forget that the demand for patriotic music was very eager in those days, and a march in honor of President Washington would have sold well. Furthermore, had the air been really popular during the years immediately following 1789, at least one of the innumerable political and patriotic songs which were to be sung to popular melodies (and the words with tune indication of most of these songs were printed in the newspapers or magazines) would show the indication: "Tune—President's March." Such is not the case, but it seems to be a fact that all songs, which, like "Hail Columbia," were fitted to this tune, appeared in print after 1794.

Therefore, while the analysis of traditions, reports, and contemporary evidence so far submitted permits us to concentrate our attention upon Phile more than on Roth as the possible author of the "President's March," it does not yet permit us, if at all interested in sound history, to attribute the "President's March" with something like certainty to Philip Phile, and most decidedly not to date the origin of the march 1789.

Here, then, the matter rested when recently the hoped-for accident helped to clear the situation still further. At the Governor Penny-packer sale the Library of Congress acquired a lot of miscellaneous early American musical publications. Among the fragments appears an unnumbered page, evidently torn from an engraved music collection for the pianoforte, bearing two marches, one,

## THE PRESIDENT'S MARCH, BY PHEIL,

the other, fortunately, "March, by Moller." Fortunately, because the reference to the name of John Christopher Moller proves that the page can not have been printed before his arrival in America in 1790, and that it most probably forms part of one of the publications issued by Moller and Henri Capron at Philadelphia in 1793. The importance of this page therefore lies in the fact that "The President's March" was attributed to Pheil and not to Roth as early as about 1793. Consequently this probably earliest edition of the march (see Appendix, Pl. XI), though it does not assist us in dating and locating the origin of "The President's March," removes all reasonable doubt from the tradition that the music of "Hail Columbia" was composed by Philip Phile.

A comparison of the "Hail Columbia" texts, as they appear in song books, is unnecessary, because practically no verbal differences have crept into Joseph Hopkinson's poem. It may be noticed, however, that the autograph which was formerly in possession of Mr. C. D. Hildebrand, of Philadelphia, and which Admiral Preble reproduced in facsimile in the second edition of his book on our flag,<sup>a</sup> has in the first stanza "war was *done*" instead of "war was *gone*." The latter version not only is the one now customary, but it appears in the two earliest printed versions of "Hail Columbia," described above. For this reason the Hildebrand autograph probably is not the earliest or even an early autograph copy. Two other copies in Joseph Hopkinson's hand are mentioned by Preble in this manner:

"During the centennial year an autograph copy of 'Hail Columbia' was displayed in the museum at Independence Hall, Philadelphia. This copy was written from memory Feb. 22, 1828, and presented to George M. Keim, esq., of Reading, in compliance with a request made by him. It has marginal notes, one of which informs us that the passage 'Behold the Chief' refers to John Adams, then President of the United States. Mr. Hopkinson also presented General Washington with a copy of his poem, and received from him a complimentary letter of thanks, which is now in the possession of his descendants."

An autograph copy signed and dated "Philadelphia, March 24, 1838" (4<sup>o</sup>, 3 p.) was offered for sale in Henkels's "Catalogue of Autograph Letters," 1895. The added facsimile showed that this 1838 copy has the marginal note about John Adams and *done* instead of *gone* in the first stanza, thereby corroborating the claim that the Hildebrand copy is of a comparatively late date. To whom this 1838 copy was sold, I do not know. Until recently the Pennsylvania Historical Society possessed two autograph copies of "Hail Columbia,"

<sup>a</sup> From there facsimiled by Mary L. D. Ferris for her article on "Our National Songs" in the New England Magazine, 1890, pp. 483-504.

one of them coming from the Hopkinson family papers, but the society has since disposed of one of the two. The other is here reproduced in facsimile by permission of the society. (See Appendix as Plates VIIIa-VIIIb.)

If a text comparison of "Hail Columbia" is unnecessary, not so a comparison of the musical settings, or rather arrangements. First, in order to show the difference between the old and the new way of singing the "President's March" to the words of "Hail Columbia," the edition which Willig printed between 1798 and 1803 will be compared with the probably simultaneous edition of a copy which has been reproduced in facsimile by Mr. Elson in his books, as mentioned before. From these early editions I turn immediately to current song books, selecting for the purpose the same as was done for "The Star-Spangled Banner" chapter (see p. 41). Also the same principle and method of comparison will be adopted with this difference, that the text is added, since it is sometimes placed differently under the notes.

"The President's March. A new Federal song," Philadelphia, G. Willig, between 1798 and 1803.

A musical score for "Hail Columbia" featuring a single melodic line on a treble clef staff. The music is in common time. The lyrics are numbered 1 through 28 below the corresponding notes. The lyrics are:

1 Hail! Co - lum - bia, hap - py land! Hail! ye he - roes, heav'n-born band!  
 2 Who fought and bled in free dom's cause, Who fought and bled in  
 3 free-dom's cause, And when the storm of war was gone, En - joy'd the peace your  
 4 val - or won; Let In - de - pen-dence be our boast, Ev - er mind - ful  
 5 what it cost, Ev - er grateful for the prize, Let its al - tar reach the skies.  
 6 Firm, u - nit - ed, let us be... Ral-lying round our Lib - er - ty,  
 7 As a band of brothers join'd, Peace and safe - ty we shall find.

**2** instead of *alla breve*: E.

Musical score for "Hail Columbia" in 2/4 time. The score consists of two staves of music with corresponding lyrics below them. Measure numbers are indicated above the music staff.

**11**                    **12**

E.                    E.

**4:** B; F; G; J; M; R; Si; W. (Hail Columbia is not in A.; Sh.; Sm.; Z.)

**3**                    **4**

G; J.                F; W. Who G; J. Who M; R. Who Si. Who

**5**                    **6**

Fought and bled in Free-dom's cause, Who fought and bled in Free-dom's cause, And

F; G; J; M; R; Si; W. F; M; R; Si; W. F; G; J; M; R; Si; W. F; M; R; Si; W.

The grace note *g* is discarded in modern editions.

**9**                    **12**

And when the storm of val - or won; Let J M

G; J.                F; G; J; M; R; Si; W. G; J.

**15**                    **16**

F; M; R; Si; W. G; J. what it cost J

F; M; R; W.

**18**                    **19**

M; Si. J B; Si. let its al - tar W

F; M; R

**20**                    **21**                    **22**

F; R; Si; W G; J. B; F; G; J; M; R; Si; W. F; G; J; R. W. M

**23**

Si Ral - ly - ing round our Ral - ly - ing round our Ral - ly - ing round our

B F; J; M; R; Si; W. G

**24**                    **25**

F; G; J; R; W. M Si B; Si G; J

**26**                    **28**

B; F; M; R; Si; W G; J F; W G; J; Si. M; R.



For eight song books, selected at random, to thus differ in the majority of bars of a national song of 28 bars, is a deplorable state of affairs. It means that if 8 children, each familiar with one of these song books, were to sing "Hail Columbia" together, not one would sing the melody exactly like any of the other 7 children. One is ashamed as an American to think of the result, if not 8, but 80 current song books were similarly examined! The discrepancies between current versions of "The Star-Spangled Banner" are regrettable enough, but those between current versions of "Hail Columbia" evidently are still worse.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>a</sup> This report was in proof sheets when Mr. Otto Hubach, financial editor of the New Yorker Staats-Zeitung and from 1876-1883 an officer in the Prussian army informed me of his recollection "that the march to which the text of 'Hail Columbia' is sung dates from the time of Frederick the Great and for more than one hundred years has been officially used in the Prussian army as '*Alt-preussisches Rondo*' and that the infantry manual still in his time mentioned under accredited marches this rondo." I have not yet had occasion to verify this information. That the infantry manual contains a march at least similar to the "President's March" I have no reason to doubt, though the latter is by no means a rondo. Nor do I see how Mr. Hubach's recollections interfere at all with Philip Phile's authorship. Like many other foreign marches, his may have found its way to Prussia to be used on special official occasions. I suspect a slight error somewhere in Mr. Hubach's recollections. At any rate, neither Thouret nor Kalkbrenner ("Verzeichnis sämtlicher kgl. preussischen Armee-Märsche," 1896) substantiate Mr. Hubach's recollections so far as they affect place and date of origin of the "President's March," which may safely be attributed to Philip Phile, until facts render this impossible.

## AMERICA.

Rev. Samuel F. Smith's (1808-1895) "America" does not call for elaborate treatment in a report like this. In the first place, words and tune show a praiseworthy uniformity in the song books. The only difference between the 12 song books selected, which is at all worth mentioning, is that Aiken, Gantvoort, Jepson, Ripley, Zeiner have in the forelast bar—



whereas Boyle, Farnsworth, McLaughlin, Shirley, Siefert, Smith, Whiting have—



No noteworthy discrepancies appear in the texts used in the song books. This has its simple explanation in the fact that Reverend Smith himself adhered to his original text whenever he was requested in later years to write autograph copies of "America."<sup>a</sup> Indeed, so numerous were these occasions that Mr. Benjamin in the Collector, July, 1908, expressed his willingness to supply autograph copies of "My country, 'tis of thee" at any time for \$10. This is probably an

<sup>a</sup> The Chief Assistant Librarian, Mr. Griffin, then Chief of the Bibliography Division, in his memorandum of November 20, 1907, pointed out that in a version "published by D. Lothrop and company, Boston, 1884, there is an accompanying facsimile autograph copy in which, in the second stanza, there is a comma after the word *noble* changing somewhat the significance of the verse." Mr. Griffin also found in F. L. Knowles' "Poems of American patriotism" not less than four additional stanzas printed not to be found in the original. Mr. Kobbe included in his "Famous American Songs" the following stanza, believed to have been added, he says, by the author at the celebration of the Washington Inauguration Centennial:

Our joyful hearts to-day,  
Their grateful tribute pay,  
    Happy and free.  
After our toils and fears,  
After our blood and tears,  
Strong with our hundred years  
    O God, to thee.

exaggeration, yet it is certain that more autograph copies exist than are referred to in the following.

In the clever chat on "Our national songs" in the New England Magazine (July, 1890, vol. 2, pp. 483-504) Mary L. D. Ferris has a facsimile of the original draft of "America" (on the margin of a printed subscription blank), then still in the possession of Reverend Smith. The text of this draft, which does not bear the title "America," nor any other title, reads:

My country 'tis of thee  
Sweet land of liberty;  
    Of thee I sing.  
Land where my fathers died  
Land of the pilgrims' pride  
From every mountain side  
    Let freedom ring.

My native country,—thee,  
Land of the noble free  
    Thy name I love;  
I love thy—rocks & rills  
Thy woods & templed hills  
My heart with rapture thrills  
    Like that above.

Let music swell the breeze  
And ring from all the trees  
    Sweet freedom's song  
Let all that breathes partake  
Let mortal tongues awake  
Let rocks their silence break  
    The sound prolong.

Our fathers' God to Thee  
Author of liberty  
    To Thee we sing  
Long may our land be bright  
With freedom's holy light  
Protect us by Thy might  
    Our God our King.

Between the second and fourth verse Reverend Smith sketched, but then crossed out, the following:

No more shall tyrants here  
With haughty steps appear  
    And soldier bands  
No more shall tyrants tread  
Above the patriot dead  
No more our blood be shed  
    By alien hands.

In the same article, Miss Ferris gives the facsimile of an autograph, apparently written for her by Reverend Smith and dated "Feb. 28, 1890." This has the title "America." In the third stanza the line "Let mortal tongues awake" precedes "Let all that breathe," and in the last line of the whole poem occurs the now current "Great God" instead of "Our God," but otherwise the texts are identical.

On April 4, 1893, Reverend Smith wrote a copy of his poem for the Outlook, where a facsimile appeared in 1898, volume 59, page 565.

The text is identical with that in the 1890 autograph, and also with that of a facsimile of an autograph copy sent Admiral Preble by Reverend Smith under date of "Boston, Mass., Sept. 12, 1872," and printed by the admiral in the 1880 edition of his book on our flag.

The autograph copy of "*America*" was accompanied by notes on the origin of the poem. Such historical notes the author was constantly, and until his death, requested to send to the admirers of "*America*." The version most frequently used by subsequent historians appears to be that in Admiral Preble's book. It reads:

The origin of my hymn, "My Country 'tis of Thee", is briefly told. In the year 1831, Mr. William C. Woodbridge returned from Europe, bringing a quantity of German music-books, which he passed over to Lowell Mason. Mr. Mason, with whom I was on terms of friendship, one day turned them over to me, knowing that I was in the habit of reading German works, saying, "Here, I can't read these, but they contain good music, which I should be glad to use. Turn over the leaves, and if you find anything particularly good, give me a translation or imitation of it, or write a wholly original song,—anything, so I can use it."

Accordingly, one leisure afternoon, I was looking over the books, and fell in with the tune of "God Save the King", and at once took up my pen and wrote the piece in question. It was struck out at a sitting, without the slightest idea that it would ever attain the popularity it has since enjoyed. I think it was written in the town of Andover, Mass., in February, 1832. The first time it was sung publicly was at a children's celebration of American independence, at the Park Street Church, Boston, I think July 4, 1832. If I had anticipated the future of it, doubtless I would have taken more pains with it. Such as it is, I am glad to have contributed this mite to the cause of American freedom.

These notes give substantially the same, though in some details not quite the full information as the letter Reverend Smith sent Miss Ferris from Newton Center, Mass., August 12, 1889, for her article "On our national songs" in the New England Magazine, 1890, and which is quoted here because it has not attracted the attention it deserved:

The hymn, "My country,—'tis of thee,"—was written in February, 1832. As I was turning over the leaves of several books of music,—chiefly music for children's schools,—the words being in the German language,—the music, which I found later to be "God save the King", impressed me very favorably. I noticed at a glance that the German words were patriotic. But without attempting to translate or imitate them, I was led on the impulse of the moment to write the hymn now styled "*America*", which was the work of a brief period of time at the close of a dismal winter afternoon. I did not design it for a national hymn, nor did I think it would gain such notoriety. I dropped the MS., (which is still in my possession) into my portfolio, and thought no more of it for months. I had, however, once seen it, after writing it, & given a copy to Mr. Lowell Mason, with the music from the German pamphlet; and, much to my surprise, on the succeeding 4th July, he brought it out on occasion of a Sunday School celebration in Park St. church, Boston.

The story of the origin of "My country, 'tis of thee," as narrated at different times without conflicting variations by Reverend Smith, is generally accepted as authentic. As far as I can see, dissension of opinion has arisen only over the really unimportant question where, when, and by whom "My country, 'tis of thee," was first sung. In the Boston Evening Transcript of October 27, 1908, Mr. William Copley Winslow took Mr. Edwin D. Mead to task for having written in the same paper on October 19, 1908, that "America" was first sung on July 4, 1832, at Park Street Church. Mr. Winslow instead claimed:

This hymn was first sung at the Bowdoin Street Church, of which Rev. Hubbard Winslow was then [1832] pastor and Lowell Mason the organist and conductor of the choir . . . The hymn with other selections, was sung by the Sunday school, aided by the choir before a large audience in the Bowdoin Street Church. Subsequently, at a combined service of Sunday schools, the hymn was sung in the Park Street Church . . .

This, if true, would interfere seriously with Edward Everett Hale's delightful little story, how he on the Fourth of July, 1832, after having spent all his holiday money on root beer, ginger snaps, and oysters at the celebration on Boston Common, on his way home marched with other children into Park Street Church and "thus by merest chance," as Mr. Kobbé retells the story, and because his money had been expended so rapidly, was present at the first singing of the hymn, which is national enough to be called "America." Mr. Winslow, whatever the merits of his claim may be, has not supported his statements with any evidence strong enough to undermine the fact, as Mr. Mead wrote in his rejoinder on October 27, 1908, that Reverend Smith "said it again and again in personal conversation, in public addresses, and in print" how "it was at the Park Street Church that the famous hymn was first sung" on July 4, 1832. To this the author adhered until his death without giving to any other account even the benefit of doubt. For instance, in an article in the New York World, January 20, 1895, reprinted from there in the Critic, 1895, he explicitly said:

It was at this children's Fourth of July celebration that "America" was first sung.

"America" is perhaps too hymnlike and devotional in character for a national anthem, and possibly is pervaded too much by a peculiar New England flavor. It is also eminently peaceful and indeed so much so, as was remarked above, that the author deliberately crossed out the only verse with allusion to war. Yet, these can not really be considered shortcomings of "My country 'tis of thee" as a national song and would at all events be outweighed by the great advantage that "America" is appropriate for all occasions and professions, for

old and young and for both sexes. It does not sound odd from the mouth of a woman as does, for instance, "The Star-Spangled Banner."

However, the main objection raised against "America" has been the union of the words with that foreign air of cosmopolitan usage "God save the King." Yet there is this difference, which should never be overlooked. If the Danes or the Prussians use "God save the King," they have deliberately borrowed it from the British. Not so with us. "God save the King" was, before 1776, as much our national anthem as that of the motherland. Being a British air it belonged to the British colonists just as much as it did to the Britons at home. When we gained national independence, did the Americans forthwith deprive themselves of the English language, of English literature, English tastes, of all the ties formed by an English ancestry? Why should, then, Americans renounce their original part-ownership of the air of "God save the King?" Why should it not be perfectly natural for them, in short, American, to use for their national anthem an air which, historically considered, they need not even borrow? Certain it is that after 1776 the air was not treated with this comparatively recent chauvinism. Young America sang patriotic songs like "God save America," "God save George Washington," "God save the President," and that "song made by a Dutch lady at the Hague for the sailors of the five American vessels at Amsterdam, June, 1779," printed in the Pennsylvania Packet and called "God save the thirteen States," without the slightest misgivings. Thomas Dawes, jr., used the air for his ode sung at the entertainment given on Bunker's Hill by the proprietors of Charles River bridge at the opening of the same in 1786 or 1787. It begins "Now let rich music sound," and may be found on pages 133-134 of the American Musical Miscellany, 1798. Indeed, this once standard collection included (on pp. 130-132) an "Ode for the Fourth of July," the words of which "Come all ye sons of song" were sung to the supposedly un-American air of "God save the King." The most curious use, however, was made of this air by an early American suffragette. In the Philadelphia Minerva, October 17, 1795, appeared in the "Court of Apollo" a poem under the title "Rights of Woman" by a lady, tune "God save America," and beginning:

God save each Female's right  
Show to her ravish'd sight  
Woman is free.

To contribute to the discussion of the origin of "God save the King" from this side of the ocean would be preposterous. Whether Chappell, Chrysander, Cummings, etc., have exhausted the subject or not would be extremely difficult for any American to investigate. The literature mentioned in the appendix to this report will enable those

interested in the problem to exercise their critical faculties, though it is very doubtful if they could sum up the whole matter more admirably than was done by Sir George Grove and Mr. Frank Kidson in the new edition of Grove's "Dictionary of Music & Musicians." Yet one remark I feel unable to repress. The efforts unreservedly to attribute the air of "God save the King" to Dr. John Bull (1619), merely because a few notes are similar, remind me of Mr. Elson's witty observation that with such arguments the main theme of the last movement of Beethoven's Ninth Symphony would come very close to being inspired by "Yankee Doodle."

## YANKEE DOODLE

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"Yankee Doodle" is sometimes called a national song—incorrectly so, because, with a now practically obsolete text or texts, it is hardly ever sung, but merely played as an instrumental piece. Though no longer a national song, it is still a national air and second only to "Dixie" in patriotic popularity. For one hundred and fifty years "Yankee Doodle" has appealed to our people, and the tune shows no sign of passing into oblivion. Surely, a tune of such vitality must have some redeeming features. This remark is directed against those who have ridiculed the musical merits of "Yankee Doodle" or treated it with contempt. That Schubert would not have composed such an air is obvious enough, and it is equally obvious that as a national air "Yankee Doodle" does not direct itself to our sense of majesty, solemnity, dignity. It frankly appeals to our sense of humor. Critics, pedantic or flippant, have overlooked the fact that every nation has its humorous, even burlesque, patriotic airs, and that these are just as natural and useful as solemn airs—indeed, more so, occasionally. As a specimen of burlesque, even "slangy," musical humor, "Yankee Doodle" may safely hold its own against any other patriotic air. But why apologize or explain, since the matter was summed up so neatly many years ago—at least as early as the Songster's Museum, Hartford, 1826, in the lines:

Yankee Doodle is the tune  
Americans delight in  
"Twill do to whistle, sing or play,  
And just the thing for fighting.

which apparently are the polished descendants of the lines in the Columbian Songster, 1799, under the title of "American Spirit."

Sing Yankee Doodle, that fine tune  
Americans delight in.  
It suits for peace, it suits for fun,  
It suits as well for fighting.

It may be added that the air has found its way with more or less effect into the works of modern composers, such as Rubinstein, Wieniawski, Schelling. However, be its esthetic appeal to musicians weak or strong, this much is certain: Exceedingly few airs have stirred antiquarians to pile a mass of literature around their origin

as has "Yankee Doodle." But how grotesque, that the two most painstaking contributions to the subject of "Yankee Doodle" should have remained unpublished! I mean those by Mr. Moore and Mr. Matthews. Mr. George H. Moore's paper, called "Notes on the origin and history of Yankee Doodle," and read first before the New York Historical Society on December 1, 1885, acquired for its author the reputation of knowing more about our air than any other person then living; yet this famous paper was never printed. Indeed, even the manuscript disappeared in the fogs of mystery until Mr. Albert Matthews, of Boston, whose amazingly elaborate research in the history of Americanisms brought him into close contact with "Yankee Doodle," traced it to Doctor Moore's son. Mr. Matthews made extracts from the manuscript for his own purpose, and this purpose has been for many years to write an exhaustive history of "Yankee Doodle"—at any rate, as far as its literary history goes. Mr. Matthews contributed several papers on the subject to the Colonial Society of Massachusetts, but these papers, too, have remained unpublished and are not accessible to the public; nor have I seen them, but, after having collected the bulk of my data and having gained control over the subject in form and substance, I entered into a fruitful correspondence—mutually fruitful, I hope—with Mr. Matthews on "Yankee Doodle." His generosity in parting with data and information, patiently gathered for his own work and perhaps for theories differing from mine, has enabled me to polish this report and in many places to strengthen the line of argument where I felt dissatisfied with it.

#### **YANKEE, A NICKNAME FOR NEW ENGLANDERS.**

The nickname "Yankee" is usually and has so been applied by Europeans for a long time to citizens of the United States in general as distinguished from other Americans. In our own country the nickname still retains a New England flavor, in keeping with the history of the term. This statement seems to be contradicted by what Mr. Albert Matthews wrote to the author under date of November 30, 1908:

It has been taken for granted by all writers that originally the word Yankee was applied to New Englanders only. My material shows that this is a mistake and that originally the word was applied by the British to any American colonist, and was applied by the American colonists themselves to the inhabitants of some colony other than their own. Thus, Pennsylvanians called the Connecticut settlers in the Wyoming Valley Yankees, but did not call themselves Yankees. Again, Virginians called Marylanders Yankees, but did not apply the term to themselves. I am speaking, you understand, of the decade between 1765 and 1775. Now as the year 1775 is approached, it is undoubtedly true that there was a tendency to locate the Yankees more especially in New England.

Mr. Matthews's material has not yet been published, and it is not yet necessary to accept his interpretation of reference to the early use of "Yankee" as the only correct one. Therefore, the author of this report still holds that the nickname, while perhaps originally not confined to New Englanders, was preferably applied to them by the colonists and that a Virginian, Marylander, Pennsylvanian, or New Yorker of colonial times, let us say after 1760, would hardly have considered it a compliment to be called "Yankee."

This does not argue that the British knew or always drew the local distinction, or that their use of the word always implied ridicule either of the Americans in general or the New Englanders in particular. At any rate, no satirical flavor attaches to the word when Gen. James Wolfe (see his "Life," 1864, p. 437, by R. Wright) wrote under date of June 19, 1758, "North East Harbour (Louisbourg) to General Amherst:"

My posts are now so fortified that I can afford you the two companies of Yankees and the more as they are better for ranging and scouting than either work or vigilance.

How sectional the term still was shortly before our war for independence may be illustrated by a reference to J. H. T.'s communication to the Historical Magazine (1857, Vol. I, p. 375):

In "*Oppression*," a Poem by an American with notes by a North Briton, . . . London, Printed; Boston, Reprinted . . . 1765, this word is introduced and explained as follows. The writer denounces Mr. Huske (then a member of the House of Commons, for Maldon in Essex), as the originator of the scheme for taxing the colonies;

"From meanness first, this *Portsmouth Yankey* rose  
And still to meanness all his conduct flows;  
This alien upstart, by obtaining friends,  
From T-wn-nd's clerk, a M-ld-n member ends."

[Note] "Portsmouth Yankey." It seems our hero being a new Englander by birth, has a right to the epithet of Yankey; a name of derision, I have been informed, given by the Southern people on the Continent, to those of New England: what meaning there is in the word, I never could learn." (p. 10).

In the same volume of the Historical Magazine (pp. 91-92) attention is drawn by B. H. H. to an unpublished letter which Robert Yates, the sheriff of Albany County, N. Y., wrote on July 20, 1771, on his return from an official visit to Bennington, Vt., and in which he refers to the inhabitants of this town, thus:

We received an account from the *Yankees* that they would not give up the possession [of the farm] but would keep it at all events.

and again:

We had discovered that the *Yankees* had made all the necessary preparations to give us the warmest reception.

In the extract of a letter dated Hartford and printed in the New York Journal, June 15, 1775, describing the capture of letters from the "high flying" Tory, Robert Temple, occurs this sentence:

Other letters are full of invectives against the poor *Yankees*, as they call us.

In the "Journal of the most remarkable occurrences in Quebec, 1775-1776, by an officer of the garrison" (rep. by the N. Y. Hist. Soc. 1880, p. 222), we read:

The New Yorkers look upon themselves as being far superior to what they call the *Yankees*, meaning the people of Connecticut, Massachusetts, Rhode-Island and New Hampshire, who effect a disgusting pre-eminence and take the lead in every thing.

Rev. Wm. Gordon, when describing the skirmishes at Concord and Lexington in the Pennsylvania Gazette, May 10, 1775, says:

They [the British troops] were roughly handled by the *Yankees*, a term of reproach for the New Englanders, when applied by the regulars.

Silas Deane, when writing June 3, 1775 one of his characteristic letters from Philadelphia to his wife, after describing graphically the Continental Congress, remarks:

. . . indeed, not only the name of a Yankee, but of a Connecticut man in particular, is become very respectable this way,

and James Thacher, in his Military Journal from 1775 to 1783 (p. 72), commenting on the difference "between troops from Southern States and those from New England," remarked:

it could scarcely be expected that people from distant colonies, differing in manners and prejudices could at once harmonize in friendly intercourse. Hence we too frequently hear the burlesque epithet of Yankee from one party, and that of Buck-skin, by way of retort, from the other.

These and other references would imply not only that the term was preferably used by New Yorkers and the British soldiers against New Englanders; that it was derisive, or at least not complimentary; that it was comparatively unfamiliar to the New Englanders; and that it had not yet been adopted by them for home use. They adopted it during the war, however, and took, as happens quite frequently to derisive nicknames, great pride in calling themselves, or being called, "Yankees." For instance, Anburey states in his "Travels," writing from Cambridge, 1777, "after the affair of Bunker's Hill the Americans gloried in it."

#### DERIVATION OF THE WORDS "YANKEE DOODLE."

The annotator of the poem "Oppression" expressed his inability in 1765 to explain the meaning of the word. To-day he would rather experience the difficulty of choosing between the various etymological explanations. The word "Yankee" gradually came to fascinate the

historian of words until about 1850 this fascination reached its climax. Since then the craze has subsided, yet any number of explanations are still current and proffered as facts, merely on the presumption that embellished reiteration of statements correctly or incorrectly quoted produces facts. Without an attempt to be exhaustive, it will be well to bring some semblance of order into this literature by going back, as far as possible, to the form in which the different and sometimes fantastically developed theories originally appeared.

Possibly the first (in print) appeared in the Pennsylvania Evening Post, May 25, 1775, reprinted from there in the New York Gazetteer, June 1, 1775. It is in form of a short article:

#### ETYMOLOGY OF THE WORD YANKEE.

When the New England colonies were first settled, the inhabitants were obliged to fight their way against many nations of Indians. They found but little difficulty in subduing them at all, except one tribe, who were known by the name of the Yankoos, which signifies *invincible*. After the waste of much blood and treasure, the Yankoos were at last subdued by the New Englanders. The remains of this nation (agreeable to the Indian custom) transferred their name to their conquerors. For a while they were called Yankoos; but from a corruption, common to names in all languages, they got through time the name of Yankees. A name which we hope will soon be equal to that of a Roman, or an *ancient* Englishman.

It is a suspicious coincidence that the derivation of "Yankee" from Yankoo, meaning "invincible," should have been brought forward at the beginning of our hostilities with the English. Furthermore, it never has been the Indian custom to transfer their names to their conquerors, nor has it been the custom of the latter to acquiesce in such a transfer, though they adopted many Indian names for localities. Worst of all for this etymology, which has been accepted in all seriousness by several writers, an Indian tribe by the name of "Yankoos" is not known to have existed. To illustrate the extremes to which credulity in historical matters may lead, the following extraordinary yarn with reference to the "Yankoo" theory may be quoted from the Magazine of American History (1891, vol. 25, p. 256), where L. A. Alderman writes:

John Dresser Chamberlain, my grandfather, wrote in 1870: "According to tradition we descended from two brothers who came from England, one of whom settled in Massachusetts and the other in Connecticut. Benjamin Chamberlain, a descendant of the Massachusetts stock, was a great warrior against the Indians, and many of his exploits were printed in his biography. One was that he fought the Yankoo chief—*Yankoo* meaning 'conqueror' in English—and whipped him. Then the chief said: 'I no more Yankoo, you Yankoo,' and from that time and circumstance the name was transferred to the whites, now called Yankees. Benjamin Chamberlain lived at Southborough, Massachusetts, during the Revolutionary war." [!!]

A second theory of derivation was first printed in Gordon's History of the Rise, Progress, and Establishment of the Independence of the United States of America, (London, 1788, Vol. I, p. 481):

You may wish to know the origin of the term Yankee. Take the best account of it which your friend can procure. It was a cant, favorite word with farmer Jonathan Hastings of Cambridge about 1713. Two aged ministers, who were at the college in that town, have told me, they remembered it to have been then in use among the students, but had no recollections of it before that period. The inventor used it to express excellency. A Yankee good horse, or Yankee cider and the like, were an excellent good horse, and excellent cider. The students used to hire horses of him; their intercourse with him, and his use of the term upon all occasions, led them to adopt it and they gave him the name of Yankee Jon. He was a worthy, honest man, but no conjurer. This could not escape the notice of the collegiates. Yankee probably became a by-word among them to express a weak, simple, outward person; was carried from the college with them when they left it and was in that way inculcated . . . till from its currency in New England, it was at length taken up and unjustly applied to the New Englanders in common, as a term of reproach.

This version, of course, depends on the actual existence of a farmer, Jonathan Hastings, about 1713. The assumption is corroborated by the "Proprietors's Records" of Cambridge, Mass., which prove a farmer and tanner, Jonathan Hastings, to have been quite prominent in the affairs of the town about this time. Page's History of Cambridge, 1877, further proves that Jonathan was born July 15, 1672, and died August 20, 1742. These facts do not yet establish a connection between Jonathan Hastings and the use of the term "Yankee" as maintained by Gordon, but the editor of the Massachusetts Magazine, 1795 (p. 301), while tracing the author of "Father Abdy's will," incidentally comes to our rescue. He writes that Rev. John Seccombe, the reputed author of "Father Abdy's will," in a letter (which the editor had before him) dated "Cambridge, Sept. 27, 1728," to his friend Thaddeus Mason, both Harvard men, gives a "most humorous narrative of the fate of a goose roasted at 'Yankey Hastings's,'" and it concludes with a poem on the occasion in the mock heroic.

Accordingly, Jonathan Hastings, of Cambridge, bore the nickname of "Yankey" in 1728 at Harvard. This may be considered an established fact, and though it does not necessarily follow that Gordon's account is based on equal facts, we may accept the reminiscences of the two aged ministers as substantially correct, however embellished in course of time. The objectionable feature of this account is that Hastings is called the inventor of the term. It is all the more objectionable in view of the following communication of J. T. F. to Notes and Queries, 1878 (5th ser., vol. 10, p. 467):

The inventory of the effects of William Marr, formerly of Morpeth, and afterwards "of Carolina, in parts beyond the seas, but in the parish of St. Dunstan, Stepney" (1725), ends with, "Item one negro man named Yankee to be sold." Mr. W. Woodman, of Morpeth, has the document.

The natural inference from this is that Hastings did not invent the term. He bore it as a nickname about 1728, and probably came to it in the manner described by the tradition. Where he and from whom he borrowed it remains to be ascertained, and also whether he used the word in its original meaning or simply (though it may have had a totally different meaning originally) because he liked the sound of it. At any rate, the Jonathan Hastings theory leads merely to an early use of the word, but not to its origin. Nor is the process plausible that the term should have become so popular through the exertions of Jonathan Hastings and his Harvard friends that it spread from Cambridge, Mass., through the vast but thinly populated colonies and became, within fifty years, the reproachful nickname of the New Englanders in general, among whom the term "Yankee" does not appear to have been current.

A third derivation of the term "Yankee" is given by Anburey, who in 1777 wrote in a letter from Cambridge (*Travels through . . . America,*," 1789, vol. 2, p. 50):

. . . it is derived from a Cherokee word, *cankke*, which signifies coward and slave. This epithet of yankee was bestowed upon the inhabitants of New England by the Virginians, for not assisting them in a war with the Cherokees, and they have always been held in derision by it. But the name has been more prevalent since the commencement of hostilities . . .

This statement would be acceptable if it could be corroborated. A letter of inquiry addressed to the Bureau of American Ethnology brought this reply (August 18, 1908) from Mr. James Mooney, the eminent authority on the Cherokee Indians:

The Cherokee words for *coward* and for *slave* (worker, or live stock property) respectively, are *udaskasti* and *atrinailûhi*.

The Cherokee name for the "Yankees," *Ani-Yûngi*, is simply their form for "Yankee," in the plural . . .

In private conversation Mr. Mooney further expressed his opinion that no word like *cankke*, of whatever meaning, exists in the Cherokee language.

A third Indian derivation was advanced in "Diedrich Knickerbocker's History of New York" (1809 (First ed.), vol. 1, p. 169), in the chapter on "The ingenious people of Connecticut and thereabouts." Diedrich waxes eloquent over "that grand palladium of our country, the *liberty of speech*, or as it has been more vulgarly denominated the *gift of the gab*," and then proceeds:

The simple aborigines of the land for a while contemplated these strange folk in utter astonishment, but discovering that they wielded harmless though noisy weapons, and were a lively, ingenious, good-humoured race of men, they became very friendly and sociable, and gave them the name of *Yankees*, which in the Mais-Tchusaeg (or Massachusetts) language signifies silent men—a waggish appellation, since shortened into the familiar epithet of *Yankees*, which they retain unto the present day.

This is in Washington Irving's best satirical vein. He makes his Diedrich Knickerbocker kill two birds with one stone, satirizing the New Englanders and at the same time those freak etymologies of the term "Yankee" that were just then beginning to attract public attention. Diedrich Knickerbocker's delightful narrative is full of such etymological pranks. Yet some people did not appreciate the joke nor see the point, but adduced in all seriousness Washington Irving's authority when further experimenting with the puzzling term.

The derivation of "Yankee" from the Indian language, which has attracted more attention than any other and is now current in the principal dictionaries, is presumably due to Heckewelder's "History, Manners, and Customs of the Indian Nations," Philadelphia, 1819. In the third chapter he writes of the "Indian relations and the conduct of the Europeans towards them," and while dealing with the Lenape, Mohicans, and kindred tribes, speaks of the Indian tradition surrounding the arrival first of the "Dutchemaan" at "Manahach-tanienk" (Manhattan) and subsequently of the "Yengeese." In a footnote he explains the latter term as being "an Indian corruption of the word English, whence probably the nickname *Yankees*." This passing hint is elaborated by Heckewelder in the thirteenth chapter of his book (p. 130) as follows:

The first name given by the Indians to the Europeans who landed in Virginia was *Waprid Lenape* (white people), when, however, afterwards they began to commit murder on the red men, whom they pierced with swords, they gave to the Virginians the name *Mechanschican* (long knives) to distinguish them from others of the same colour.

In New England, they at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*. They also called them *Chauquaquoock*, (men of knives) for having imported these instruments into the country, which they gave as presents to the natives.<sup>a</sup> The Mohicans of that country called them *Tschachgoos*; [later] they dropped that name, and called the whites by way of derision, *Schwannack*, which signifies *salt beings*, or *bitter things*.

. . . They never apply it to the *Quakers*, whom they greatly love . . . they call them *Quackels*, not having in their language the sound expressed by our letter R . . .

These were the names which the Indians gave to the whites until the middle of the Revolutionary War, when they were reduced to the following three:

1. *Mechanschican* or *Chanschican* (long knives) [Virginians and Middle colonies].
2. *Yengees*. This name they now exclusively applied to the people of New England, who, indeed, appeared to have adopted it, and were, as they still are, generally through the country called *Yankees*, which is evidently the same name with a trifling alteration . . . The proper English they called *Saggenash*.
3. *Quaekels* . . . Not only the Delawares, but all the nations round them make use of these names and with the same relative application.

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<sup>a</sup> Rogers's Key into the language of the Indians of New England, ch. VI.

Before analyzing this theory of Rev. John Heckewelder, which has been adopted with more or less bold variations, one contemporaneous etymological attempt which runs in a similar vein may be mentioned. It appeared as a note to the appendix of John Trumbull's "Poetical works," Hartford, 1820:

*Yankees.* The first settlers of New England were mostly emigrants from London and its vicinity, and exclusively styled themselves the English. The Indians, in attempting to utter the word *English*, with their broad gutteral accent, gave it a sound which would be nearly represented in this way, *Yaughees*, the letter *g* being pronounced hard, and approaching to the sound of *k* joined with a strong aspirate, like the Hebrew *chetz*, or the Greek *chi*, and the *l* suppressed, as almost impossible to be distinctly heard in that combination. The Dutch settlers on the river Hudson and the adjacent country, during their long contest concerning the right of territory, adopted the name, and applied it in contempt to the inhabitants of New England . . . This seems the most probable origin of the term. The pretended Indian tribe of Yankoos does not appear to have ever had an existence . . .

The sum and substance of these derivations is the supposed difficulty of the Indians in pronouncing the word "English" without corrupting it. The explanation seemed plausible, and it was adopted, mentioning Heckewelder as authority, by Webster in the first edition (1828) of his dictionary. By 1841 had been added "or more probably of the French word *Anglois*," but in 1848 the editor, not seeing the fine point of defense, changed *Anglois* into *Anglais*. In support of this corruption theory a passage in Hutchinson's "History of the Colony of Massachusetts-Bay," (1764, vol. 1, p. 479), was remembered:

It was observed that without the greatest difficulty, they [the Indians] could not be brought to pronounce the letter *L* or *R*. For Lobster, they said Nobstan.

Having remembered this, one M. N. G., in Notes and Queries, 1877 (5th ser., vol. 7, p. 338), summed the whole theory up with all its virtues and defects in these words:

They [the Indians] lengthened and softened the vowels; thus even a clever Indian could not pronounce *English* better than Eengeeh. Most Indians would be still wider off the mark and the common pronunciation was probably *Angees* (the *g* hard), or *Ankees*.

The trouble with this entire theory is that Rev. John Heckewelder (born 1743 at Bedford, England) did not begin his labors among the Indians until 1762. He abandoned the task before the expiration of the year. Between 1765 and 1771 he went on short missionary expeditions. His actual career as an important evangelist among the Indians began in 1771, his real services to Indian archeology, however, not until 1810, and his book on the Indians was not published until 1819. Sixty years are ample to form mental associations of disconnected data to amalgamate heterogeneous historical matter

and traditions. Important as Heckewelder's "History" is, it is now reputed to suffer from too credulous an assimilation of fact and fancy, and while much of the book reads as if he had gathered the information at first hand, it may easily be proved that it frequently was of second hand and that previous books on the subject had been freely used. For instance, he says that the Englishmen were called "Chauquaquock (men of knives)" and he refers in a footnote to "Rogers's Key . . ." Such a book does not exist, but Heckewelder did mean and use Roger Williams's "Key into the language of America," London, 1643, and there may be found (see Reprint by the Rhode Island Hist. Soc., 1827, p. 51):

Chauqock. A knife.

Obs.: Whence they call *Englishmen* Chauquaquock, that is knivemen. . . .

To this he adds, on page 65:

Waítacone-núaog—Englishmen, men, that is, coat-men, or clothed.

and on page 116:

Englishmánnuck—Englishmen.

Dutchmnánuck—Dutchmen.

Though the absence of *R* and *L* in the Indian names of the Key is remarkable, not a word is said about the difficulty of pronouncing the word *English*, and not a single word even faintly resembling *Yankee* is mentioned in the whole Key. On the other hand, Roger Williams does say, when treating of the variety of aboriginal dialects, page 96:

So that although some pronounce not *L* nor *R*, yet it is the most proper dialect of other places, contrary to many reports.

In the light of Roger Williams's Key, 1643, Heckewelder's statement, 1819, unsupported by contemporary evidence, that the "Indians at first endeavoured to imitate the sound of the national name of the *English*, which they pronounced *Yengees*," loses its authority. Secondly, the critical historical method would now demand that the tribes with or without the *L* and *R* be nicely separated, and that it be traced, how either fared with their supposed futile attempt to pronounce the word "English." Only by this process of investigation would we come nearer the Indian origin of the word "Yankee," if it really has an Indian origin. The manner in which this origin is developed backward does not appear to strengthen the theory. For instance, let it be supposed the word "Yankee" originated with the tribes who experienced no difficulty in pronouncing the letter *L*. Is it reasonable that then the word "English" could have become "Yankee," by changing the sound *e* into *a*, adding *y*, hardening *g*, dropping *i* and *sh?* If the word originated with tribes who did not enjoy the letters *l* and *r*, the objections become still more numer-

ous. We know from Hutchinson that such Indians liked to substitute *n* for *l* and *r* ("lobster" becoming "nobstan"), and we know from Governor Edward Winslow's "Good news from England, Lond. 1624," that the Indians insisted on calling him Winsnow. It follows that the word "English," even if pronounced with a broad *E*, either becomes "Engish" or "Engnish." But the goal is "Yankee" and can be reached only by subtle softenings, broadenings, clippings, transformations, and additions of sound. The weakness of this derivation could not escape the attention of the few, who are by nature at all fitted to reason not only logically but methodically, and efforts were made to substitute the word *Anglais* for *English*, thus selecting the Indians of French Canada as possible godfathers of the New England Yankees. Brushing aside the Indians' preference for substituting an *n* instead of dropping an *l* altogether, one could with less difficulty arrive from *Anglais* at Yankee. Unfortunately for this shift of responsibility from our to the Canadian Indians, the old French word for Englishmen is *Anglois*, and therewith, of course, the theory again drifts away from the word "Yankee."

It is, in view of these observations, not at all unlikely that Heckewelder's theory is one *a posteriori*, an afterthought, knowing, as he plainly did, that the nickname of "Yankee" was confined in his younger days more or less to the New Englanders, and having possibly heard it suspected that the word was of Indian provenience, he combined fact and hypothesis without further analysis. He took for granted what was merely a historical rumor, developed his story from this artificial premise, and made the facts subservient to his afterthought.

To-day our ethnologists, among them Mr. James Mooney, point to other and even more grotesque corruptions of English words by the Indians, and by subtle philological analysis they arrive at the conclusion that it was not impossible for the word English (with the broad *E*) to have become Yankee in the mouths of the southern New England Indians. However, they merely concede the *possibility* from the standpoint of philology and do not positively commit themselves to Heckewelder's derivation. Nor would this be scientific, since we have no evidence that the Indians actually used the word "Yankee."

Simultaneously with the theory of Indian origin sprang up one which carries us to the Orient, to Persia. One B. H. H. in the Historical Magazine (1857, vol. 1, pp. 156-157), drew attention to an article in the eighth volume of the Monthly Anthology, Boston, 1803-1811. This article, dated "New Haven, March 2, 1810," and signed W, purports to have been copied from the Connecticut Herald, New Haven, and the editor suspected N . . . W . . . jun., esq., to have been the author. This can but mean Noah Webster, and it

is significant in this connection that the Monthly Anthology was in the habit of attacking Webster's ponderous methods. The article is much too long for full quotation. It begins with the statement that—

*Yankee* appears to have been used formerly by some of our common farmers in its genuine sense. It was an epithet descriptive of excellent qualities—as a *Yankee horse*, that is, a horse of *high spirit* and other good properties . . .

After this unmistakable allusion to farmer *Yankey Hastings* and some extraordinary feats of etymology of the type of Cicero's *lucus a non lucendo*, the author steers with full sails into a Persian origin of the word, as follows:

Now in the Persian language, *Janghe* or *Jenghe* [that is *Yankee*] signifies a war-like man, a swift horse; also one who is prompt and ready in action, one who is magnanimous . . . The word *Yankee* claims a very honourable parentage, for it is the precise title assumed by the celebrated Mongolian Khan, Jenghis; and in our dialect, his titles literally translated would be *Yankee King*, that is, *War-like Chief*. . . .

The editor of the Monthly Anthology added that this article reads as if "intended for a buslesque upon those etymologists who are always forcing derivations beyond all bounds of probability." Notwithstanding these hints, this etymological hoax directed against Noah Webster, whose dictionary does not contain any such Persian definition, has been treated seriously. Its champions pointed to the supposed fact that Morier in his "Journey through Persia" said that the Persians of that day spoke of America as *Jenghee Duniah*, and a certain W. S. A., under the title of "Possible Eastern Origin of *Yankee Doodle*", had this to say in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register, volume 20, July, 1866:

*A Possible Eastern Origin of Yankee Doodle.* I made the following extract from a volume printed in London about twenty-five years ago. It is the "Journal of Residence in England . . . originally written in Persian by H. R. H., Najaf Koolee Merza . . . London," without date. Vol. II, p. 146:

"As to America, which is known in the Turkish language by the name of *Yankee Dooniah*, or the New World." On asking I found that this is generally correct, but the literal translation of the words is "End of the World."

More fantastic things have happened than the importation of an oriental word "*Yanghee*" to America. Simply because such a derivation appears to be fantastic, it must not be brushed aside without an effort to disprove it, for, after all, the derivations thus far criticised are not very much less fantastic. However, the oriental theory can be proved to be not only fantastic and extremely impossible, but incorrect.

In the first place, this gentleman surreptitiously, because he wanted to prove something, exchanged *Yengee* or *Yenghee* and *Yankee*, not aware of the fact that the discovery of a word in the language of

some country other than the one where it is known to have been used for a century, proves nothing except its use. In the second place, Dooniah and Doodle are not even phonetically related. Thirdly, the words do not apply to North America, but to South America. Says James Morier in his "Second Journey through Persia between the years 1810 and 1816," London, 1818, when describing the return trip of the Persian ambassador from England to Asia by way of Cape Horn:

On the 11th of September [1810] we made Cape Frio; and as we approached the shore we called the Persians to look at the *Yengee Duniah*, or the new world, of which in their country they had heard such wonders . . .

How far this is from "Yankee Doodle" is further illustrated by the attempt at a correct pronunciation in the German translation of Morier's book (1820): "*Jendschi Dunniah*."

Different again is the derivation as suggested by *Salf* in Notes and Queries, 1879 (5th ser., vol. 11, p. 38):

The word "Yanks" is always used in the east of Lincolnshire to describe the coarse, untanned leather gaiters worn by the country folk. There was a large exodus from this part of the country to America. Might not, therefore, the word "Yankee" have been used to distinguish those who wore these gaiters or "yanks", the incoming strangers, from the original inhabitants, who wore mocassins?

This is delightfully naive. One naturally asks: Were these "yanks" used and known as such as far back as 1725? Were they worn in America, if at all, by New Englanders only? Were these gaiters known here as "yanks"? Who was it that thus distinguished between the immigrants from eastern Lincolnshire and the Indians?

With such fantastic and naive methods the term *Yankee* may be traced to any desired language with more or less plausibility. For instance, Mr. Louis C. Elson hints at having read of a Norwegian derivation, and Mr. Nason, in a footnote to his "Monogram" (p. 21), says that some "deduce it from the old Scotch word *Yankie*, a sharp, clever woman."

It would be extraordinary if the fact that "Yankee Doodle" was applied to their New England neighbors, preferably by the people of New York, whose population in those days was largely of Dutch origin, had not invited the attempts to derive the term from the Dutch. Curiously enough, these attempts, though they all have the same object in view, weaken the Dutch theory somewhat by their contradictions.

One of the first, if not the first, attempt to derive the term from the Dutch was noted by George Ticknor. There is to be found in his "Life, Letters, and Journals" (vol. 2, p. 124), the following entry:

*January 2, 1838.* I passed the evening with Thierry. . . . He is much skilled in etymology, and thinks our etymologies of the word *Yankee* are all wrong, and that, having arisen from the collision and jeerings of the Dutch and English in

New York and New England, it is from the Dutch *Jan*—pronounced *Yan*—John, with the very common diminutive *kee*, and *doodlen*, to quaver; which would make the whole “*quavering or psalm-singing Jacky or Johnny.*” *Doodlesack* means a bagpipe.

*Johnny* would refer to John Bull; and if, *doodlen* be made in the present tense, *Yankee-doodle* would be *Johnny that sings psalms*. *Hart-kee*—my little dear heart, and hundreds of other diminutives, both in endearment and in ridicule, are illustrations of the formation of the word. It amused me not a little, and seems probable enough as an etymology, better certainly than to bring it with Noah Webster from the Persian.

Somewhat similar is the derivation advanced by William Bell, in Notes and Queries, 1853 (vol. 7, p. 103), under the heading “*Yankee, its origin and meaning:*”

... the term is of Anglo-Saxon origin and of home-growth. . . . We may, of course, suppose that in the multitude of these Dutch settlers [of New Amsterdam, etc.] the names they carried over would be pretty nearly in the same proportion as at home. Both then and now the Dutch *Jan* (the *a* sounded very broad and long) . . . was the prevailing abbreviation appellative; and it even furnished, in *Jansen*, etc. (like our *Johnson*) frequent patronymics, particularly with the favourite diminutive *cke*, *Jancke*; and so common does it still remain as such, that it would be difficult to open the Directory of any decent sized Dutch or Northern German town without finding numerous instances, as *Jancke*, *Jaancke*, *Jahncke*, etc., according as custom has settled the orthography in each family. It is scarcely necessary to say that the soft *J* is frequently rendered by *Y* in our English reading and speaking foreign words . . . to show how easily and naturally the above names were transformed into *Yahnkee*. So far the name as an appellative; now for its appropriation as a generic. The prominent names of individuals are frequently seized upon by the vulgar as a designation of the people or party in which it most prevails . . . therefore, when English interests gained the upper hand, and the name of *New Amsterdam* succumbed to that of *New York*, the fresh comers, the English settlers, seized upon the most prominent name by which to designate its former masters, which extended to the whole of North America, as far as Canada: and the addition of *doodle*, twin brother to *noodle*, was intended to mark more strongly the contempt and mockery by the dominant party. . . . It is, however, to the credit of our transatlantic brethren and the best sign of their practical good sense, that they have turned the tables on the innuendo and by adopting, carried the term into repute by sheer resolution and determinate perseverance. . . .

There the matter rested for a while, except as it was made use of for secondhand articles, etc. Then the Notes and Queries, 1877 (5th ser., vol. 7, p. 338), printed a curiously illogical communication in which these words occur:

Doodle is surely only an imitation of the crowing of a cock—the meaning, if any, of *Yankee Doodle* is New Englanders, be on the alert; or, “show your spirit.”

The absurdity of this apostrophe in the mouth of Dutchmen the correspondent does not see, and we may pass on to the reference in Notes and Queries, 1879 (p. 18), in which a reader of Smollett’s

novel "Sir Lancelot Greaves" (1760) called attention to Captain Crowe's words in third chapter:

Proceed with the story in a direct course, without yawning like a Dutch *yank*.

Here we evidently have a Dutch word which is almost identical with "yankee," but what sense can there possibly be in the combination of a Dutch ship with the word *doodle*, which either means fool or to bagpipe music?

Different again was Dr. George H. Moore's derivation, who read an (unfortunately unpublished) paper on the "Origin and history of Yankee Doodle" before the New York Historical Society, December, 1885. In the meager report of this paper in the Magazine of American History (1886, vol. 15, p. 99), we read:

His theory of its derivation assigns the origin of the word to the Low-Dutch word *janker*, which signifies "a howling cur, a yelper, a growler, a grumbling person," and he formed in the history of relations existing between the English and Dutch sufficient reason for calling the English *dogs*.

This is driving the point home with a vengeance, and therein lies the weakness of the derivation. Different again, and assuming, as one naturally would, that "Yankee" has an ironical, sarcastic, but not brutally insulting flavor, is the derivation as given by G. W. V. S. in the Magazine of American History (1891, vol. 26, p. 236):

When the Holland Society made its famous pilgrimage to Holland in 1888 . . . the Hon. H. D. Levysohn-Norman . . . in the course of a very interesting speech, said: "Yankee" is an alteration of the Dutch word *Jantje* (pronounced Yantyea), equivalent to Johnnie, a nickname of the Dutch people. In the days of the revolution of 1830, the Belgian insurgents gave often to a Dutchman the nickname of "Jantje Kaas (Johnnie Cheese)." So that Yankee is derived from Jan (John), Jantje being its diminutive.

But *Jantje* (Yantyea) and Yankee are not the same in sound, and if this be the correct derivation, it is difficult to see why Yankee should have been preferred to the equally easy Yantyea. If the Dutch, on the other hand, actually do use *Jancke* (pronounced Yankee) in the sense of little John or Johnnie, then this would be the most plausible derivation, and "Yankee Doodle" would be "Johnny Doodle."

To make sure of this point, a letter of inquiry was sent to the eminent Dutch musical scholar, D. F. Scheurleer, at The Hague, and he answered under date of October 7, 1908, as follows:

. . . Merkwürdig genug hat man sich hier mit der Erörterung der Bedeutung des Wortes Yankee sehr wenig befasst. Ausgeschlossen ist es nicht, dass ein holländisches Wort zu Grunde liegt. Der sehr allgemein verbreitete Taufname Jan (so allgemein, dass früher jeder Kellner mit Jan angerufen wurde) hat viele Diminutiv-Formen je nach dem Dialekt. *Jantje* (spezial-Name für unsere Matrosen), *Jannetje*, *Jannigie*, *Janke* (nur an einzelnen Orten gebräuchlich).

Ich weise darauf hin, ohne daraus eine Folgerung zu machen.

These, then, are some of the more or less ingenious attempts at the etymology of the word "Yankee," but not one of them exhibits as much learning as the eruditely witty mock derivation of "Porson Junior" from the Greek. This essay (in the Democratic Review, 1839, vol. 5, pp. 213-221) is by all odds one of the most brilliant contributions to the literature of parody.

Curiously enough the word "doodle" has almost escaped the onslaughts of etymologists, and yet this word and not "Yankee" may hold the key not only to the etymological problem but to that of the origin, or at least of the age of the tune "Yankee Doodle," as will be made clear later on.

One popular derivation of the word "doodle" is from the Scotch word *doule*, used in the same sense as the German *dudeln*, the slang word for playing music. But the Oxford Dictionary does not trace *doule* in print earlier than Sir Walter Scott, 1816. The Germans also use the word *Dudel-Sack* for bagpipe, and as the latter is also known in the English language as *doodle-sack*, it stands to reason that the Germans borrowed their *Dudel-Sack* and *dudeln* from the Scotch. Similarly the Dutch word *doedelzak* and similar words are not original with the Dutch, and as Weiland's *Woordenboek*, 1826, would allow us to infer, are of comparatively recent use with them. The Scotch derivation of the word "doodle" is at least plausible, whereas statements like this in Notes and Queries, 1877 (April 28), that "Doodle is surely only an imitation of a cock," may be relegated to the realm of etymological curiosities, inspired perhaps by the fact that in G. A. Stevens' Songs, 1772, and elsewhere, occurs the expression "cock a doodle do." However, still more acceptable than the Scotch, a derivation will appear to be which is based on the use of the word "Doodle" in English dramatic literature of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It may be traced there with comparative ease as the following references, partly selected from Mr. Matthews' unpublished material, will prove:

- 1629. John Ford, "The Lover's Melancholy (act III, I): "Vanish, doodles, vanish."
- 1681. T. Otway's "The Soldier's Fortune" (act I, 2): *Sylvia* asks *Lady Dunce*: "Is your piece of mortality such a doting doodle?"
- 1683. In Edward Ravenscroft's "London Cuckolds" "Doodle," and "Wiseacre" are the "Two aldermen of London."
- 1706. In E. Ward's "Humours of a Coffee House" (act II, 283) *Snarl* says: "Thou art the meekest *Tom Doodle* . . . sure *Nature* had too much work upon her hands when thou wer't making, and clo'e'd thy skull before she put the brains in."
- 1730. In H. Fielding's *Tom Thumb* "Noodle" and "Doodle" are "Courtiers in place, and consequently of that party that is uppermost!"
- 1731. Chetwood: "Generous Free Mason": or, the Constant lady with the humours of Squire Noodle, and his Man Doodle. A tragi-comi-farcical ballad opera . . ."



1731. In the cast of the Battle of the poets appear Noodle and Doodle as Judges of the Contention.  
1733. In "Rome excis'd. A new tragi-comi ballad opera "Doodle" is "Brother to Cyrenaeus."

Whether or not Johnson in 1755 correctly saw in "doodle" a cant word possibly corrupted from *do little*, its meaning is clearly (see Oxford Dictionary) that of a "simpleton, noodle, silly, or foolish fellow," but generally of the rural type. If these derivations of "doodle" be adopted, all difficulties of explaining the meaning of "Yankee Doodle" vanish. Whatever the origin of "Yankee" might have been, after "Yankee" was preferably applied to the New Englanders, "Yankee Doodle" would simply mean a New England doodle, and it is not to be wondered at that the New Englanders did not take kindly to this nickname "Yankee," especially not if it meant "Johnny."

#### GENEALOGY OF THE THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SONG "YANKEE DOODLE"

Though sometimes dragged into the discussion, the derivation of the word "Yankee" evidently furnishes no tangible clue to the origin of the song "Yankee Doodle." The etymological labyrinth merely leads to the probability that the words "Yankee Doodle" were not available for a song until after 1700. For the discovery of the origin of the melody, the first recorded use of the word "Yankee" is of absolutely no help, since melodies, from which certain words finally become inseparable, often precede these words by decades. The origin of the song must be traced in a totally different direction. As was the case with the derivation of the word "Yankee," numerous conflicting accounts of the origin of the song exist. Most of these, too, are merely inaccurate and uncritical reiterations, embellishments, combinations of previous theories. Only after the genealogy of these theories had been established, some main arteries became discernible in the confused mass of tradition. An attempt is here made to trace the original sources of the various theories, and as far as was possible, the original sources only, since all later reiterations, etc., contain nothing substantially new and merely cover the main paths with impenetrable underbrush and rubbish.

Possibly the earliest allusion to the origin of the song is contained in Gordon's "History of the Independence of the United States" (London, 1788, vol. 1, p. 481). This work is a collection of letters and the reference to "Yankee Doodle" is to be found in a letter dated "Roxbury, April 26, 1775:"

a song composed in derision of the New Englanders, scornfully called *Yankees*.

An entry to the same effect in James Thacher's "Military Journal, from 1775 to 1783," would appear to antedate Gordon, but the Journal was not published until 1823, and then with amendments and additions from other sources. Indeed, his references to "Yankee Doodle" are copied almost verbatim from Gordon. Much more substantial is the account given in Farmer & Moore's Collections, May, 1824 (p. 157-160), in an unsigned article on "Yankee Doodle:"

. . . The story runs that the song entitled *Yankee Doodle* was composed by a British officer of the Revolution with a view to ridicule the Americans, who by the English bloods of that time, by way of derision, were styled Yankees . . . it may possibly amuse some of your readers to see a copy of the song as it was printed thirty-five years since, and as it was troll'd in our Yankee circles of that day. What mutations it might have undergone previous to that time, or whether any additions or alterations have been made since, I know not; but I am, however, of the opinion, that it has had as many commentators and collators as the text of Shakespeare . . .

This anonymous article, together with the text of "Yankee Doodle," was printed in May. In July, 1824 (vol. 3, pp. 217-218), the editors published a totally different account of the "Origin of Yankee Doodle:"

In looking over an old file of the Albany Statesman, edited by N. H. Carter, Esq., we met with the following interesting note, respecting the origin of the tune *Yankee Doodle*—the words of which were published in the Collections for May:

"It is known as a matter of history, that in the early part of 1755, great exertions were made by the British ministry, at the head of which was the illustrious Earl of Chatham, for the reduction of the French power in the provinces of the Canadas. To carry the object into effect, General Amherst, referred to in the letters of Junius, was appointed to the command of the British army in North Western America; and the British colonies in America were called upon for assistance, who contributed with alacrity their several quotas of men, to effect the grand object of British enterprise. It is a fact still in the recollection of some of our oldest inhabitants, that the British army lay encamped, in the summer of 1755, on the eastern bank of the Hudson, a little south of the city of Albany, on the ground now belonging to John I. Van Rensselaer, Esq. To this day, vestiges of their encampment remain; and after a lapse of sixty years . . . the inquisitive traveller can observe the remains of the ashes . . . It was this army, that, under the command of Abercrombie, was foiled, with a severe loss, in the attack on Ticonderoga . . . In the early part of June, the eastern troops began to pour in, company after company, and such a motley assemblage of men never before thronged together on such an occasion, unless an example might be found in the ragged regiment of Sir John Falstaff, of right merry and facetious memory. It would, said my worthy ancestor, who relates to me the story, have relaxed the gravity of an anchorite, to have seen the descendants of the Puritans, marching through the streets of our ancient city, to take their station on the left of the British army—some with long coats, some with short coats, and others with no coats at all, in colours as varied as the rainbow, some with their hair cropped like the army of Cromwell, and others with wigs whose curls flowed with grace around their shoulders. Their march, their accoutrements, and the whole arrangement of the troops, furnished matter of amusement to the wits of the British army. The musick played the airs of two centuries ago, and the tout ensemble, upon the

whole, exhibited a sight to the wondering strangers that they had been unaccustomed to in their own land. Among the club of wits that belonged to the British army, there was a physician attached to the staff, by the name of Doctor Shadburg, who combined with the science of the surgeon, the skill and talents of a musician. To please brother Jonathan, he composed a tune, and with much gravity recommended it to the officers, as one of the most celebrated airs of martial musick. The joke took to the no small amusement of the British corps. Brother Jonathan exclaimed it was nation fine, and in a few days nothing was heard in the provincial camp but the air of Yankee Doodle . . .”

This account was widely circulated, but soon other traditions and theories began to demand recognition. One of the most perplexing to all those who did not have access to its very scarce source appeared in an unsigned article on the “Origin of Yankee Doodle” in the *Musical Reporter* (Boston, 1841, May, pp. 207-209):

It appears that, previous to the time of Charles I, an air somewhat similar to the one in question, was common among the peasantry of England, of which the following is a copy



This air during the time of Cromwell was set to various ditties in ridicule of the Protector. One of these began with the words “The Roundheads and the Cavaliers”. Another set of words was called “Nankee Doodle”, and has throughout a striking resemblance to some of the popular stanzas, which were common in the American Colonies from the time of their origin to the Revolution, and in some sections of the country, even to the present day. The song, “Lydia Locket” or “Lucy Locket” has been sung to the same tune from time immemorial. This air seems to have been the foundation of Yankee Doodle.

The rest of the article is a more or less inaccurate repetition of previous opinions.

This account was widely circulated, but apparently in the meantime other traditions had been clamoring for recognition. John W. Watson, in his “Annals of Philadelphia,” not in the first edition, 1830, but in the second, 1844 (vol. 2, pp. 333-335), hesitated not to print this *bouquet* of historical gossip and blunder:

“*Yankee Doodle*”. This tune so celebrated as a national air of the revolution, has an origin almost unknown to the mass of the people in the present day. An aged and respectable lady, born in New England, told me she remembered it well, long before the revolution under an another name. It was then universally called “*Lydia Fisher*” and was a favourite New England jig. It was then

the practice with it, as with Yankee Doodle now, to sing it with various impromptu verses—such as

Lydia Locket lost her pocket  
Lydia Fisher found it;  
Not a bit of money in it,  
Only binding round it.

The British, preceding the war, when disposed to ridicule the simplicity of Yankee manners and hilarity, were accustomed to sing airs of songs set to words, invented for the passing occasion, having for their object to satirize and sneer at the New Englanders. This, as I believe, they called Yankee Doodle, by way of reproach, and as a slur upon their favourite "Lydia Fisher".

. . . Judge Martin, in his History of North Carolina, has lately given another reason for the origin of "Yankee Doodle", saying, it was first formed at Albany, in 1755, by a British officer, then there, indulging his pleasantry on the homely array of the motley Americans, assembling to join the expedition of General Johnson and Governor Shirley. To ascertain the truth in the premises, both his and my accounts were published in the gazettes, to elicit, if possible, further information, and the additional facts ascertained, seem to corroborate the foregoing idea. The tune and quaint words, says a writer in the Columbian Gazette, at Washington, were known as early as the time of Cromwell, and were applied to him then, in a song called "Nankee Doodle", as ascertained from the collection he had seen of a gentleman at Cheltenham in England, called "Musical Antiquities of England", to wit:

Nankee Doodle came to town  
Upon a little pony,  
With a feather in his hat,  
Upon a macaroni, &c.

The term feather, &c., alluded to Cromwell's going into Oxford on a small horse, with his single plume fastened in a sort of knot called a "macaroni". The idea that such an early origin may have existed seems strengthened by the fact communicated by an aged gentleman of Massachusetts, who well remembered that, about the time the strife was engendering at Boston, they sometimes conveyed muskets to the country concealed in their loads of manure, &c. Then came abroad verses, as if set forth from their military masters, saying:

Yankee Doodle came to town  
For to buy a firelock:  
We will tar and feather him,  
And so we will John Hancock.

The similarity of the first lines of the above two examples, and the term "feather," in the third line, seem to mark, in the latter, some knowledge of the former precedent. As, however, other writers have confirmed their early knowledge of "Lydia Locket," such as

Lucy Locket lost her pocket,  
In a rainy shower, &c.

we seem led to the choice of reconciling them severally with each other. We conclude therefore, that the cavaliers, when they originally composed "Nankee Doodle," may have set it to the jig tune of "Lydia Fisher," to make it the more offensive to the Puritans. Supposing it, therefore, remembered in succeeding times as a good hit on them, it was a matter of easy revival in New England, by royalists, against the people there, proverbially called by themselves, "Oliver Cromwell's children," in allusion both to their austere religion, and their free

notions of government. In this view, it was even possible for the British officer at Albany, in 1755, as a man skilled in music, to have before heard of the old "Nankee Doodle," and to have renewed it on that occasion.

This was substantially the same story as the one which Watson wrote to the Massachusetts Historical Society, February 13, 1832, as Mr. Matthews discovered, but this letter was not published in their proceedings until 1861 (vol. 5, pp. 209-212), and therefore can not have had much influence before 1861.

Soon other compilers followed in Watson's footsteps, chief of whom the voluminous but unscrupulously inaccurate B. F. Lossing. In the first edition, 1851-52 (vol. 1, p. 81) of his "Pictorial Fieldbook of the Revolution" he claims that Thacher [!] on page 19 of his *Military Journal* wrote:

A song, called *Yankee Doodle*, was written by a British sergeant at Boston, in 1775, to ridicule the people there, when the American army, under Washington, was encamped at Cambridge and Roxburg.

It is characteristic of Lossing's methods that Thacher (comp., p. 95 of this report) never wrote these words, but that Lossing doctored the quotation to suit himself. It is equally characteristic of him that in the edition of 1859-60 the supposed quotation from Thacher is not canceled, though Lossing in the supplement of the second volume (p. 683) gives a totally different version. The latter is merely a confused conglomeration of previous accounts. About this time the columns of Notes and Queries were opened to a flood of communications on the subject of *Yankee* and *Yankee Doodle*. One of the longest was that by T. Westcott, dated Philadelphia, June 5, 1852, and printed 1852 in volume 6, page 57. It is merely an echo of previous accounts, principally of Watson, out of whose words he construes the claim that—

The tune was known in New England before the Revolution as *Lydia Fisher's Jig*.

Mr. Westcott, however, took occasion to add this important observation:

There is no song. The tune in the United States is a march; there are no words to it of a national character. The only words ever affixed to the air in this country is the following doggerel quatrain:

Yankee Doodle came to town  
Upon a little pony,  
He stuck a feather in his hat  
And called it macaroni.

Duyckinck's Cyclopædia of American Literature, 1855, volume 1, page 463, helped to complicate matters still further. There we read:

The tune was not original with Shackburg, as it has been traced back to the time of Charles I., in England. In the reign of his son we find it an accompaniment to a little song on a famous lady of easy virtue of that date, which has been perpetuated as a nursery rhyme—

Lucy Locket lost her pocket,  
Kitty Fisher found it,  
Nothing in it, nothing in it,  
But the binding round it.

A little later we have the first appearance of that redoubtable personage, Yankee Doodle. He seems even at that early stage of his career to have shown his characteristic trait of making the most of himself—

Yankee Doodle came to town,  
Upon a Kentish pony;  
He stuck a feather in his hat,  
And called him Macaroni.

It is not impossible, however, that Yankee Doodle may be from Holland. A song in use among the laborers, who in the time of harvest migrate from Germany to the Low Countries, where they receive for their work as much buttermilk as they can drink and a tenth of the grain secured by their exertions, has this burden—

Yanker didel, doodel down  
Didel, dudel lanter,  
Yanke viver, voover vown,  
Botermilk and Tanther.

That is, buttermilk and a tenth. This song our informant has heard repeated by a native of that country, who had often listened to it at harvest time in his youth.

The precise date when

Father and I went down to camp—

can not, we fear, be fixed with accuracy. But as the tune was sung at Bunker Hill, may be assumed to have been in 1775.

Our copy of the words is from a broadside in a collection of "Songs, Ballads, etc., purchased from a ballad printer and seller in Boston in 1813" made by Isaiah Thomas. The variations and additional stanzas in the notes are from a version given in Farmer & Moore, III, 157.

A positive statement by F. B. N. S. appeared in the Historical Magazine (1857, vol. I, p. 92):

The verses commencing 'Father and I went down to camp' were written by a gentleman of Connecticut, a short time after Gen. Washington's last visit to New England; as will be shown in a book of songs and ballads, soon to be issued in New York.

I have not been able to trace the proprietor of these initials nor the book he refers to in Roerbach's "Bibliotheca Americana," or in the catalogue of the famous Harris collection of American poetry.

A curious contribution to the "Yankee Doodle" literature found its place in the Historical Magazine, 1858 (vol. 2, pp. 214-215). One T. H. W. there reprinted an article clipped from the Press, Philadelphia, September, 1857. This, in turn, had been sent the Press by

one Herman Leigh as the copy of the following letter, dated "London, July 21, 1854, 29 St. Mark's Crescent, Regent's Park:"

With respect to the air of Yankee Doodle, the earliest copy which Dr. Rimbault has found is in "Walsh's collection of Dances for the year 1750" where it is printed in 6/8 time, and called "Fisher's Jig." This is very interesting, because for more than half a century the air in question has been sung in our nurseries to the verse:

Lucy Locket lost her pocket,  
Kitty Fisher found it,  
Not a bit of money in it,  
Only binding round it.

According to a set of old engravings of London characters (probably by Holler) published in the reign of Charles II, Kitty Fisher figures as a courtesan of that period. This seems to send the time back a long way.

It has been said that the air of Yankee Doodle dates still further back, and that the verse

Yankee Doodle came to town,  
Upon a little pony;  
He stuck a feather on his hat,  
And called it macaroni.

relates (with the alteration of Nankee for Yankee) to Cromwell. The lines are said to allude to his going to Oxford with a single plume fastened in a knot, called a macaroni. But this is all conjecture; all we know for certain is, that the air in question was known in England the first half of the last century as "Kitty Fisher's Jig." Dr. Rimbault has all the popular music of England from the earliest time, but finds no trace of the air of Yankee Doodle (in print) before the year 1750.

This letter, which in the main merely reiterates a time-worn account, traces for the first time the earliest appearance of the tune "Yankee Doodle" in print. This reference has become one of the stumbling blocks in the controversy, and not in a manner as to bestow credit on the methods of the famous Doctor Rimbault. But who wrote the letter and sent it to the Historical Magazine? Doctor Rimbault is spoken of in the third person. This might lead to the impression that the letter merely gives to a third party the essence of a conversation between the writer and Doctor Rimbault. If this were the case, then Doctor Rimbault could not be held responsible for all the mischief done by the letter. I fear that nothing can exonerate him, since the responsibility rests with Doctor Rimbault and no one else. Says he in a contribution to the Historical Magazine, 1861, page 123: "When sending my communication to the H. M. in July, 1858 (vol. 2, p. 214)." This transaction throws a peculiar light on the methods of Dr. Edward F. Rimbault.

To the American, English, and Dutch the Historical Magazine now added a Biscay and Hungarian origin of the tune, 1858, volume 3, page 280:

The following letter, says the *National Intelligencer*, has been received by a gentleman of this city from our accomplished secretary of legation at Madrid:

MADRID, June 3, 1858.

MY DEAR SIR:

The tune Yankee Doodle, from the first of my showing it here, has been acknowledged by persons acquainted with music to bear a strong resemblance to

the popular airs of Biscay; and yesterday a professor from the north recognized it as being much like the ancient sword dance played on solemn occasions by the people of San Sebastian. He says the tune varies in those provinces, and proposes in a couple of months to give me the changes as they are to be found in their different towns, that the matter may be judged of and fairly understood. Our national air certainly has its origin in the music of the free Pyrenees; the first strains are identically those of the heroic *Danza Esparta*, as it was played to me, of brave old Biscay.

Very truly yours,

BUCKINGHAM SMITH.

On the same page the Historical Magazine helped to circulate this story:

Kossuth, says the Boston Post, informed us that the Hungarians with him in this country first heard Yankee Doodle on the Mississippi River, when they immediately recognized it as one of the old national airs of their native land—one played in the dances of that country—and they began immediately to caper and dance as they used to in Hungary.

Again it was the Historical Magazine, which in 1859 (vol. 3, pp. 22–23) printed an article signed J. C. with the editorial remark that it had been “Published in the Baltimore Clipper in 1841 by a person who well understood the subject:”

In Burgh's Anecdotes of Music, vol. III, p. 405 [1814] after speaking of Dr. Arne and John Frederick Lampe, the author proceeds:

Besides Lampe and Arne, there were at this time (1731) other candidates for musical fame of the same description. Among those were Dr. Christian Smith, who set two English operas for Lincoln's Inn Fields, *Teraminta* and *Ulysses*. . . .

About the year 1797, after having become a tolerable proficient on the German flute, I took it into my head to learn the bassoon, and a book of instructions from the late Mr. Joseph Carr, who had then recently opened a music store in this city [Baltimore] being the first regular establishment of the kind in the country. In this book there was an *Air from Ulysses*, which was the identical air now called *Yankee Doodle*, with the exception of a few notes, which time and fancy may have added.

Benson J. Lossing again took part in the controversy in an article on “The Origin of Yankee Doodle” for the Poughkeepsie Eagle, which was reprinted in Littell's Living Age (1861, vol. 70, pp. 382–384). This article merely copies the accounts in “Notes and Queries,” Duyckinck's Cyclopædia and other sources, without the slightest attempt at verification of the data except when he remarks of the “Botermilk and Tanther” refrain in Duyckinck:

This account is apocryphal, to say the least, for the words in the above verses are neither German, Dutch, nor any other known language on the face of the earth.

To the theories of Yankee Doodle's origin thus far enumerated an anonymous writer in All the Year Round (1870, February, vol. 3, pp. 252–256), in an article “On a few old songs,” added this:

It seems on the authority of the late M. T. Moncrieff, the author of “Tom and Jerry” and countless other farces and plays, who made it his pleasure in the closing years of his life when afflicted with blindness, to investigate the history

and origin of old tunes, that the air was composed for the drum and fife about the middle of the eighteenth century by the Fife-Major of the Grenadier Guards. The air was not intended for a song, but for a march, and it was long after it had become familiar to the ears of the people in towns where British regiments were stationed, that words became associated with it.

Doctor Rimbault reappeared on the plan with an article on "American National Songs" in "Leisure Hour" (1876, vol. 25 pp. 90-92). This second account is not a repetition of what he had written in 1858. Indeed, without saying so, our author refutes most of his previous statements that had helped to make the origin of "Yankee Doodle" worse than a Chinese puzzle:

There are no words to this tune in the United States of a national character; the tune is a march. The earliest words known there are this doggerel quatrain—

Yankee Doodle came to town  
Upon a little pony,  
He stuck a feather in his hat,  
And called it Macaroni.

With the alteration of Nankee for Yankee, a string of similar verses is said to exist, which were supposed to allude to the coming of Oliver Cromwell (on a small horse) into Oxford, with his single plume, which he wore fastened in a sort of knot, which the adherents of the royal party called "a macaroni" out of derision. We must own to an entire want of faith in this story. The probability is that the tune is not much older than the time of its introduction into America. We know that it was popular in England at that time, having been printed in one of Thomson's country dance books as "Kitty Fisher's Jig."

Kitty Fisher, as everybody knows, was a celebrated character in the middle of the last century. She was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds more than once, and ultimately married Squire Norris of Bem mendon, in Kent. Lucy Lockit was also a well-known character in the gay world. She was not so fortunate as her friend in making a good marriage nor in having her face handed down to posterity by the Court painter.

The well-known rhymes to this tune, still sung by children—

Lucy Lockit lost her pocket  
Kitty Fisher found it;  
Not a bit of money in it,  
Only binding round it.

have some covert allusion, understood at the time, but now forgotten.

We give a copy of Thomson's version of the tune, which is written in triple time. It was afterwards altered to common time, as now known:

KITTY FISHER'S JIG

The musical notation consists of three staves of common time. The first two staves begin with a treble clef, while the third staff begins with a bass clef. The music is composed of eighth and sixteenth note patterns, typical of a jig. The first two staves end with a double bar line and repeat dots, indicating a repeating section of the tune.

Strange to say, this account appears to have escaped the attention of Admiral George Henry Preble when he prepared the second edition (Boston, 1880) of his "History of the Flag of the United States." The admiral's article on "Yankee Doodle" (pp. 746-753, not in the first edition of 1872) does not pretend to be based on original research. It is merely a résumé of the various accounts thus far published. Yet it contains a few statements that call for consideration. He says:

There is an earlier version of the words in England which I heard repeated by my father in my childhood days, which runs:

Nankee Doodle came to town  
Upon a *Kentish* pony,  
He stuck a feather in his hat,  
And called him Macaroni.

As I heard it repeated, the second line was, *Riding on a pony*, or, *Upon a little pony* . . .

In the English opera written about the middle of the eighteenth century, by Dr. Arne, is the comic song of "Little Dickey," who resents the arrogance and attempted tyranny of some older boy. The last stanza runs thus:

Did little Dickey ever trick ye?  
No, I'm always civil, etc.

The air of the song is what we call "Yankee Doodle," but it is not so called in the opera. . . .

Innumerable have been the verses that have been adapted to it [Yankee Doodle], but it is believed the following were those best known and oftenest repeated by our fathers during the war of 1776, and they are said to have been sung at the battle of Bunker's Hill in 1775. Words additional or similar were repeated to me by my father fifty years ago, as those familiar to him when a boy, during the revolutionary times. Perhaps their order of following is not correct.

Then follow 17 stanzas of "Yankee Doodle, or Father's return from Camp," in the main identical with the stanzas given in Farmer & Moore's Collections, but clearly accumulated from different versions.

The last few quotations illustrate that by 1880 the matter of "Yankee Doodle" had fallen entirely into the hands of compilers, whose sole object it seems to have been, and still seems to be, to accept more or less credulously the numerous conflicting statements and to weave them indiscriminately into a smooth, entertaining tissue of facts and fancy. The first to really analyze this ragout was Mr. William Barclay Squire, and he contributed to the first edition of Grove's Dictionary of Music (1879-1889) an article on "Yankee Doodle," which at that time was by far the best, and is still valuable. Mr. Louis C. Elson, in his useful book on the "National Music of America," 1900, added in the main merely information received from Mr. Albert Matthews, of Boston. Nor does the amount of his original critical research rise above what may be expected from a book plainly designed and written in a style to satisfy the popular

demand for more or less verified facts on our national songs. This applies even more strongly to Mr. Kobbé's chatty "Famous American Songs," 1906, who also caught a glimpse of Mr. Matthews's unpublished mine of data. From the same source come the following excerpts from Dr. George H. Moore's paper "Notes on the origin and history of Yankee Doodle," read before the New York Historical Society on December 1, 1885, and before the New England Historical and Genealogical Society on December 7, 1887. As was stated in the introduction to my report on "Yankee Doodle," Mr. Moore's paper was never printed, though it was mentioned in the Magazine of American History for January, 1886, in the Boston Post of December 8, 1887, and in the New England Historical and Genealogical Register for January, 1888. Mr. Albert Matthews, as he informed me under date of January 3, 1909, rediscovered the manuscript and copied long extracts. "Moore," says Mr. Matthews, "picked to pieces various theories about 'Yankee,' but accepted without criticism the Farmer & Moore version." Clearly Mr. Moore's unpublished paper can not have influenced subsequent writers very much, but it is essential that so much of it be printed here as was available through the courtesy of Mr. Albert Matthews:

Dr. Shuckburgh unquestionably played an important part in the proceedings which resulted in making Yankee Doodle a national tune. He took the initiative step. He married to verse, (not immortal, for not a line of it can be proved to exist to-day) but to a song sufficiently popular to be remembered for many years . . . Dr. Shuckburgh undoubtedly scored (achieved) a success in his Yankee Doodle Song, hitting off the men and events of the time, in a style which readily admitted additions and alterations to fit occasions. That song was a satire more or less clever of the New Englander and his ways—written originally from the point of view of an Englishman long domesticated in New York, and reflecting the prejudices of the British tory and the Albany Dutchman—the intellectual apparatus of that extraordinary mythical creature, the genuine Knickerbocker. What that first Yankee Doodle Song was is mainly left to conjecture . . . The only verses I have met with, which carry any appearance of having been a part of the original are the following:

There is a man in our town,  
I pity his condition,  
He sold his oxen and his sheep,  
To buy him a commission—

When his commission he had got,  
He proved a nation coward  
He durst not go to Cape Breton  
For fear he'd be devoured.

Another verse has less authority:

Yankee Doodle came to town  
Put on his strip'd trowse's  
And vow'd he could n't see the town (place)  
There was so many houses.

So far the literature on the origin of "Yankee Doodle" moved in a few distinct channels, but in 1905 two theories were added that have very little in common with those previously advanced, combined, embellished. In the German magazine "Hessenland" (vol. 19, 1905, pp. 20-23), Mr. Johann Lewalter published an article under the title: "Der 'Yankee Doodle' ein Schwälmer Tanz?" In other words, the author endeavored to prove the probability of a Hessian origin, but his knowledge of the literature is very slight and he did not exercise discrimination in the use of his sources, so that most of his article is not worthy of consideration. As to his hypothetical question, it is sufficient to abstract from the article the following:

In Langenscheidt's "Land und Leute in Amerika" it is said that probably the air of the folksong "Yankee Doodle" has its origin in a military march played by the Hessian soldiers in the War for Independence.

The same origin is hinted at in the eighth volume (1880) of Spamer's "Illustriertes Konversationslexikon". Mr. Lewalter then calls attention to the fact that the principal recruiting station in 1776 was Ziegenhain in the Schwalm, the fertile province of Hesse, to the further fact that "Yankee Doodle" in form, musical spirit and rhythm bears a peculiar resemblance to the genuine dances and folksongs of the Schwalm region. Therefore, he concludes, it may be claimed that this song, played by the Hessian troops as a march, was imported by them to America in those days. Finally, the fact should be noted that during a country fair in the Schwalm in the fall of 1904 "Yankee Doodle" was played as a Schwalm dance, and men and women danced to it as they would to one of their own traditional airs without discovery of the substitution.

It will be seen later on how suddenly his Hessian theory collapses, if the historical test is applied. Much more complicated but much more fruitful in its application is a theory advanced by Mr. William H. Grattan Flood in the "Dolphin" (Philadelphia, 1905, vol. 8, pp. 187-193) under the title "The Irish origin of the tune of *Yankee Doodle*." In this interesting article Mr. Grattan Flood, an enthusiastic student and champion of Irish music, first sets out to undermine principally the English origin. Then, in the footsteps of the eminent English folk-song collector, Mr. Frank Kidson, he refers to the "Earliest printed version" of "Yankee Doodle" in the first volume of James Aird's "Selection of Scotch, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs," printed at Glasgow in 1782. Without further preliminaries Mr. Grattan Flood then proceeds:

The very structure of this tune is seen to be decidedly Irish and apart from any other argument intrinsic evidence should point to its Irish origin. . . . The above printed version by Aird in 1782, antedates the "Two to One" (1784) version by two years, and is much nearer the Irish original ['All the way to Galway'], with the strongly marked C natural (the so called "flat seventh") so characteristic of seventeenth century tunes in D major. However, the oldest form of the tune is also given here as it appears in a MS dated 1750, the authenticity of which is beyond question. The manuscript was written at different times between the years 1749 and 1750, and the owner's name is given, dated December 1, 1750.

By way of illustrating the changes which a tune undergoes in seventy or eighty years, I think it is well to give the version as noted by Dr. Petrie in 1840, but, as will be seen, the changes are unimportant.

Thus "Yankee Doodle" can rightfully be claimed as a product of Ireland. . . .

#### CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF THE THEORIES ON THE ORIGIN OF "YANKEE DOODLE"

The chronological enumeration of the theories on the origin of "Yankee Doodle" will have disclosed their genealogy and concatenation sufficiently to now warrant neglect of such dates, references, and inferences that are mere variations and aberrations from the original source. The examination of this amazing labyrinth of conjectures will be based entirely on such analytical data only as possess some real substance. The other data will be treated as not existing. Much of the analytical evidence has become quite familiar to historians, but much will have the flavor of novelty. However, no distinction will here be made between old and new data, except when necessary.

To sum up, since 1775, when the origin of "Yankee Doodle" began to arouse interest, it has been claimed that—

1. The song of "Yankee Doodle" was composed by a British officer of the Revolution.
2. The air had its origin in a military march "Schwälmer Tanz," introduced into this country by the Hessians during the war for Independence.
3. The first part of the tune is identical with the *Danza Esparta* and the tune had its origin in the Pyrenees.
4. The air is of Hungarian origin.
5. The tune was introduced by German harvest laborers into Holland.
6. The air was composed by the fife-major of the Grenadier Guards about 1750 as a march.
- 7a. The tune was founded on an English tune common among the peasantry of England previous to the time of Charles I.
- 7b. It was set during the time of Cromwell to various ditties in ridicule of the protector. One of these began with the words "The Roundheads and the Cavaliers;" another

Nankee Doodle came to town  
Upon a Kentish pony [or Upon a little pony]  
He stuck a feather in his hat  
And called him Macaroni.

were known as early as Cromwell's time, and indeed applied to him.

8. In the reign of Charles II the tune was sung to the words, perpetuated as a nursery rhyme:

Lucy Locket lost her pocket  
Kitty Fisher found it.  
Nothing in it, nothing in it  
But the binding round it.  
[or, Not a bit of money in it  
Only binding round it]

9. The air is the same as of the New England jig "Lydia Fisher," which was a favorite in New England long before the American Revolution.

10. The earliest printed version of the air "Yankee Doodle" appears in 6/8 time in "Walsh's collections of dances for the year 1750" under the title of "Fisher's Jig."

11. The air is identical with "Kitty Fisher's Jig" as printed in one of Thomson's country dance books in triple time.

12. "Yankee Doodle" is identical with an "*Air from Ulysses*," opera by J. C. Smith.

13. The air "Did little Dickey ever trick ye" in an opera by Arne, composed about 1750, is the same as "Yankee Doodle."

14. Doctor Shuckburgh, wit and surgeon in the British army encamped in 1755 near Albany, composed a tune and recommended it to the provincial officers as one of the most celebrated airs of martial music and that this joke on the motley assemblage of provincials took immediately.

15. Doctor Shuckburgh wrote the Yankee Doodle verses to an old-fashioned jig.

16. The air is of Irish origin and is identical with "All the way to Galway."

These 16 theories have here been grouped not chronologically but amicably to a process of elimination. The majority of these theories, on close inspection, relate rather to the early use of than to the origin of the song. It will therefore facilitate the process of elimination if some consequential data on the use of the air in America until the time of our war for independence are here brought together.

In the New York Journal, October 13, 1768, we read in the "Journal of Transactions in Boston, Sept. 28, 1768:"

*Sept. 29.* The Fleet was brought to Anchor near Castle William, that Evening there was throwing of Sky Rockets, and those passing in Boats observed great Rejoicings and that the Yankey Doodle Song was the Capital Piece in their Band of Music."

Writing of the events at Boston in 1769, the late Mr. Fiske in his work on the "American Revolution" (vol. 1, p. 65) says:

On Sundays the soldiers would race horses on the Common, or play Yankee Doodle just outside the church-doors during the services.

Unfortunately Mr. Fiske did not refer to his authority for this almost incredible bit of information; nor did Mr. Elson, when he wrote in his book on our national music (p. 145):

A little later [than 1769], when the camps were in the town of Boston, the British custom was to drum culprits out of camp to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," a decidedly jovial *Cantio in exitu*.

The next reference carries us to the commencement of hostilities. When the news of the affair at Lexington (Apr. 19, 1775) reached Lord Percy in Boston, says the Reverend Gordon in his History in a letter dated "Roxbury, April 26, 1775," he ordered out a reenforcement to support his troops.

The brigade marched out playing, by way of contempt, *Yankee Doodle* . . .

James Thacher has almost literally the same in his Military Journal under date of April 21, 1775. A further contemporary reference is found in the "Travels (1st ed., vol. 2, p. 50) of Thomas Anburey, the British officer, who, under date of "Cambridge, in New England, Nov. 27, 1777," wrote as follows:

. . . the name [of Yankee] has been more prevalent since the commencement of hostilities. The soldiers at Boston used it as a term of reproach, but after the affair at Bunker's Hill, the Americans gloried in it. *Yankee Doodle* is now their *paeon*, a favorite of favorites, played in their army, esteemed as warlike as the Grenadier's March—it is the lover's spell, the nurse's lullaby. After our rapid successes, we held the Yankees in great contempt, but it was not a little mortifying to hear them play this tune, when their army marched down to our surrender.

Anburey, of course, alludes to General Burgoyne's surrender at Saratoga, October 17, 1777. Again the military bands of the Continental army are said to have used "Yankee Doodle" as their *paeon* at the climax of the war when Lord Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown, October 19, 1781, but Robin, Knox, Thacher, Anburey, Chastellux, Gordon, and Johnston do not confirm this popular legend. I distinctly recall having seen it told by a French memoir writer of the time, but unfortunately am unable to retrace my source.

On that occasion the British army marched out to the tune of "The World turned upside down." So it was in more than one respect. Clearly, before and during the first stages of the war, "Yankee Doodle" was considered a capital piece by the British soldiers to ridicule the New Englanders, but the latter blunted the point of the joke, and indeed used it in rebuttal by appropriating the tune with all its associations for their patriotic field music. This curious process found an echo in one of our very first by-products of the war. John Trumbull's "M'Fingal" was first published at Philadelphia in 1775.

In the first, original edition the first *canto* "The Town Meeting" begins:

When Yankies skill'd in martial rule,  
First put the British troops to school;  
Instructed them in warlike trade,  
And new manœuvres of parade,  
The true war dance of Yanky-reels,  
And val'rous exercise of heels.

and later on the lines occur:

Did not our troops show much discerning,  
And skill your various arts, in learning?  
Outwent they not each native Noodle  
By far in playing *Yanky-doodle*;  
Which, as 'twas your New-England tune  
'Twas marvellous they took so soon?

A New England tune or not, "Yankee Doodle" was common property in New England before the war for independence. Not alone this, it is easily proven that the tune was well known south of New England, too, at least nine years before the war. In my writings I have had repeated occasion to point to Andrew Barton's comic opera "The Disappointment, or The force of credulity," New York, 1767, in this connection. This, the first American opera libretto, unmistakably belongs to the class of ballad operas, that is, operas in which the airs were sung not to new music but to popular ballad tunes. Now, as Sabin, without attracting proper attention at the time, discovered as early as 1868, there appears in the 1767 edition, though not in the 1796 edition, of this coarse, yet witty, libretto, written in Philadelphia, but printed in New York:

**AIR IV, YANKEE DOODLE.**

O! how joyful shall I be,  
When I get the money,  
I will bring it all to dee,  
O! my diddling honey.  
(Exit, singing the chorus, *yankee doodle*, etc.)

It follows conclusively that the air of "Yankee Doodle" was sufficiently popular in America in 1767, or more correctly, in Philadelphia, to be used in a ballad opera. It further follows from the above that the words of the chorus refrain were so well known in 1767 that it was sufficient to print: "*Yankee doodle*, etc."

The fact that the air of "Yankee Doodle" was popular in America in 1767 renders it impossible for a "British officer of the Revolution" to have "composed" the song. If at all true, this tradition can only mean that he either added some verses to a current text or wrote an entirely new set of verses.

The second theory on the list collapses for the same reason. The Hessian military can not have introduced the tune to our country as it was popular in America long before their arrival here. On the

contrary, it becomes probable that the Hessian bands exported the air from America. However, not chronology alone, but logic forbade the acceptance of the Hessian origin, since according to Mr. Lewalter's own account "Yankee Doodle" was merely grafted on the Schwalm peasants by way of experiment. They danced readily enough to the tune, but Mr. Lewalter's story clearly shows that they did not consider it one of their *traditional* dance tunes. This plain observation should discourage further efforts in this direction, which would presumably be based on the fact that the British military service included Hessians long before 1775, indeed before 1767.

Similar objections must be raised against the theories of the Biscay and Hungarian origin. They were advanced almost one hundred years after "Yankee Doodle" had become popular in America, time enough for any tune to find its way into any country and to be so assimilated that its foreign origin is entirely forgotten. That Hungarians danced to it fifty years ago proves absolutely nothing except that "Yankee Doodle" with its rhythmic accents appealed to them. Kossuth and his friends, experts in revolutions but not in musical history, recognized in "Yankee Doodle" one of the old national airs of Hungary; this also proves nothing except that they knew the air. It is the same with the Biscay origin advanced by Mr. Buckingham Smith in 1858. Had he contented himself with recording the use of the tune in Biscay, one may be puzzled by the coincidence that two Turanian nations were willing to naturalize "Yankee Doodle." But Mr. Smith goes further, and he claims that "the first strains are identically those of the heroic *Danza Esparta* [!] as it was played to me of brave old Biscay." Are they? I quote without comment the first bars of this "*Ezpata Dantza*" (sword-dance), as published by Charles Bordes in "Archives de la Tradition Basque," under title of "Dix danses . . . du Pays Basque Espagnol," 1908:



As a fifth theory we have that promulgated by Duyckinck's Cyclopaedia in 1855:

It is not impossible . . . that Yankee Doodle may be from Holland. A song in use among the laborers, who in time of harvest migrate from Germany to the Low Countries . . . has this burden—

Yanker didel, doodel down  
Didel, dudel lanter,  
Yanke viver, voover vown,  
Botermilk and Tanther.

The Duyckincks received their information from a person who in turn relied on the memory of a Dutchman who "had listened to it at harvest time in his youth." This circuitous route may explain why

the chorus refrain, as quoted above, belongs to no known language. In itself the fact that the words are neither German, Dutch, or English proves nothing and should not have been advanced so hastily by Lossing, Elson, and others, since such nonsense rhymes are common to all people. Here are a few examples taken at random from books in the English language. O'Keefe has this nonsense in one of his librettos:

Ditherum, doodle adgety  
Nagity, tragedy rum,  
Goostnerum foodle nidgety  
Nidgety, nagety mum.

In the libretto to the "Castle of Andalusia" occurs this:

A master I have, and I am his man,  
Galloping dreary dun  
And he will get married, as fast as he can  
With my haily, gaily, gambrailly,  
Giggling, niggling, galoping,  
Galloway, draggletail, dreary dun.

Finally, in the American songster "The Blackbird," New York, 1820, I noticed the refrain on page 39:

With my titol teedle tum  
Likewise fol lol feedle fum  
Not forgetting diderum hi,  
And also teedle tweedle dum.

Sense there is not in these samples of nonsense rhymes, yet who would deny that they are based on the English language? Consequently, the "Yanker didel, doodel" lines with the one word Botermilk (buttermilk) as an anchor of sense may either have been intended as a Dutch nonsense rhyme, or they are the unintelligible Dutch corruption of a Low German (Plattdeutsch) chorus refrain, or they are merely the result of travel of the original English "Yankee Doodle" refrain corrupted more and more, as it passed from America into the German lowlands, thence to Holland, and from there back to America. I am inclined to think that this is the most plausible explanation, rather than to simply discredit, as has been done, the narrative in Duyckinck's Encyclopædia, and to accuse the editors of having invented the silly lines out of the whole cloth. After all, the substance of their statement is merely that during the first half of the nineteenth century harvest laborers from the German lowlands are known to have sung the air of "Yankee Doodle" in Holland. This implies early use, not origin, and even if it implied the latter, not the Dutch but the "Plattdeutsche" would be responsible for the melody.

We turn to Mr. Elson's book on the National Music of America and there find these interesting lines:

Just as this volume is going to press [1900] the author is enabled, through the kindness of M. Jules Koopman, traveling in Holland, to trace this theory of

Dutch origin more definitely. *The first period* of the melody is quite familiar to Dutch musicians, and has been used in Holland from time immemorial as a *children's song*; the second period is not known in Holland.

Again, this implies at the best merely early use and by no means a Dutch origin. If "Yankee Doodle" were a traditional Dutch air, it certainly would not have escaped the scrutinizing eye of the best authorities on Dutch folk songs, such as Van Duyse and D. F. Scheurleer. The story of a Dutch origin may be dropped, since Mr. D. F. Scheurleer, in a letter to me under date of October 7, 1908, remarks:

Was die Melodie betrifft, muss ich gestehen in den Niederlanden *kein* Prototype zu kennen. Dieses war auch der Fall bei von mir befragten Sachverständigen.

Das von Ihnen citierte *quasi* holländische Ernte-Lied ist mir völlig neu und ich wüsste daran keinen Sinn zu geben . . .

Ich habe beim Yankee doodle öfters gedacht an hier im 18ten Jahrhundert sehr bekannte Savoyarden-Lieder, gesungen von Savoyarden-Knaben, die mit Drehleier und Meerschweinchen herumzogen. Diese Leierkastenlieder waren sehr geeignet um von Matrosen und Emigranten weiter befördert zu werden . . .

To avoid all possible confusion, it may be added that the air of the Dutch song "Pauwel Jonas" (Paul Jones) is not identical with "Yankee Doodle."

Somewhat more perplexing than the theory of Dutch origin is the one attributing "Yankee Doodle" to the fife-major of the Grenadier Guards about 1750, who is said to have composed the melody as a march for drum and fife. This statement rests on the authority of Mr. T. Moncrieff, but unfortunately no clue to his source is given. It is significant, however, that according to this theory words became associated with the air long after it had become familiar to the ears of the people in towns where British regiments were stationed. The weak point of this theory is its vagueness. The strong point that the air is attributed without circumlocution to a tangible author. "Yankee Doodle" must have had an origin. If we should be forced to admit that all other theories are inherently weak, then the fife-major of the Grenadier Guards would loom up as a very formidable candidate for the authorship of "Yankee Doodle." Not, of course, of a march by this title, but of a quick march, with some other or without title, which found its way shortly after 1750 to America, there became popular, was wedded to words dealing with the New England Yankees, and permanently retained the name of "Yankee Doodle." That the air was imported by the Grenadier Guards themselves is impossible, because Sir F. W. Hamilton's "History of the First or Grenadier Guards" proves that a detachment of the regiment, including seven drummers and two fifers, was not sent to

America until 1776. The whole fife-major theory, however, is considerably weakened by reference to these words in a letter written on December 22, 1908, to the Librarian of Congress by Major Montgomerie of the Grenadier Guards:

. . . We cannot discover that the office of Fife-Major ever existed in this Regiment. We have had Drum-Majors since 1672, but their names we do not know.

The air of "Yankee Doodle" seems to have been founded, said our anonymous in the *Musical Reporter*, Boston, 1841, on an air somewhat similar which was common among the peasantry of England previous to the time of Charles I, 1600 (1625)–1649. On page 97 of this report the air in question is copied and it requires a very unmusical ear to detect beyond the rhythm and general character any telling similarity. Consequently, said air may have been common among the English peasantry of those days, but this fact would shed no light whatever on the origin of "Yankee Doodle," as the two airs are not related. Furthermore, if this air cited by our anonymous is the one that was set during Cromwell's time to various ditties, such as "The Roundheads and the Cavaliers," or "Nankee Doodle," then all protracted and painstaking controversy on this subject was unnecessary, since "Yankee Doodle" is not concerned. Indeed, the controversy could easily have been avoided ere this had the commentators found their way to a copy of the rather scarce *Musical Reporter*. The air there quoted and reprinted on page 97 of this report is but a version of "Nancy Dawson," and as such an eminent authority on folk songs as Mr. Frank Kidson expressed himself (Dec. 22, 1908), he "should very much be surprised to have proof of its existence before 1760 or thereabouts." As to the ditties beginning "The Roundheads and the Cavaliers" and "Nankee Doodle came to town," Rev. T. Woodfall Ebsworth, the eminent authority on English ballads, is quoted in the first edition of "*Grove's Dictionary of Music*" to this effect:

I believe that I have seen and weighed, more or less every such ballad still remaining in print, and most of those in M.S. that search has detected: and I can declare unhesitatingly that I never came across any indication of such an anti-Cromwellian original as the apocryphal "Nankee Doodle came to town." I believe that none such is extant or ever appeared. . . There is no contemporary (i. e. 1640–1660 or, say 1648–1699) ballad specially entitled "The Roundheads and the Cavaliers."

The ante-Cromwellian origin of "Yankee Doodle" and its anti-Cromwellian use with all the embellishments that imaginative minds have added during the last seventy years may definitely be laid to rest. However, since the (slightly varying) lines—

[Nankee] Yankee Doodle came to town  
Upon a Kentish pony.  
He stuck a feather in his hat  
And called him Macaroni

have actually been sung in America for generations to the tune of "Yankee Doodle," it will become necessary later on to approximately fix the date of these lines, and that is, to anticipate the third or even fourth quarter of the eighteenth century. Thus, Cromwell and "Yankee Doodle" are separated by at least a century.

Theories eighth to eleventh all have this in common, that they take as starting point the rhyme:

Lucy Locket lost her pocket  
Kitty Fisher found it  
Not a bit of money in it  
[or, Nothing in it, nothing in it]  
Only binding round it.

For "Lucy Locket" Lydia Locket is sometimes substituted; for "Kitty Fisher," Lydia Fisher, and other slight verbal differences occur in the numerous citations of these lines.

With the exception of the theory of ante-Cromwellian origin, they have been chiefly responsible for the mass of confusion surrounding "Yankee Doodle," particularly after Doctor Rimbault threw the weight of his authority into the controversy.

From the perusal of the literature on the subject as gathered for this report, it appears conclusively that the lines were used as a nursery rhyme during the first half of the nineteenth century both in England and America, and were then always sung to the same air as "Yankee Doodle." Indeed, "two female relations" informed one G. A. G., for Notes and Queries, 1865 (vol. 8, p. 155), that the lines were "current some fifty years ago in the girls' schools" of the Isle of Wight and of Hampshire—that is, about 1810.

For the use of the lines during the eighteenth century we have, to my knowledge, the contemporary statement only of an aged and respectable lady born in New England, who remembered having heard the rhyme sung to the same tune long before the Revolution as a favorite jig, called "Lydia Fisher." (See on p. 98, Watson's account, 1844.) On the other hand, the anonymous author in the Musical Reporter, Boston 1841, gives



that is, "Nancy Dawson" as the air to which the song "Lydia Locket or Lucy Locket has been sung . . . from time immemorial." If we turn to page 98 and attempt to sing the rhyme to this melody, we find that this is easily done, even in the fourth bar, if the two words "found it" each get two of the four notes. Except for this fourth bar the traditional "Yankee Doodle" is not sung more readily. Here then would seem to be a conflict between the statement of an old lady relying on her memory and actual quotation of

a melody by an equally anonymous writer who may have had an equally good memory. This difference of opinion is not vital, since often in folk music the same words are grafted on different melodies until the fittest survives. At any rate, we have no reason to doubt the possibility that "Lucy Locket" was sung also to the air of "Yankee Doodle" in New England previous to the American revolution.

For further data we must rely on internal evidence. "Lucy Locket," of course, points to "Lucy Lockit," one of the main characters in the famous "Beggar's Opera," first performed in 1728 and popular during the entire century. Possibly, "Lucy Locket" found her way into the rhyme only for reasons of sound. However, 1730 would appear to be about the earliest possible date for the rhyme unless Gay adopted "Lucy Locket" as an effective stage name from the popular rhyme. The presence of a Kitty Fisher in the rhyme would forbid this conjecture if we recognize in her with Rimbault the famous lady of easy virtue called "Kitty Fischer." What Rimbault wrote about her in the Historical Magazine (1858) is mostly nonsense, as he himself tacitly admitted by printing a totally different reference to this lady in the Leisure Hour (1876):

Kitty Fisher, as everybody knows, was a celebrated character in the middle of the last century. She was painted by Sir Joshua Reynolds more than once, and ultimately married Squire Norris of Bem mendon [recite Benenden] in Kent.

This agrees with what one finds about her in "Notes and Queries" and Stephen's Dictionary of National Biography. The registers of Benenden give the date of her burial as March 23, 1767. It is not recorded when Catherine Marie Fischer, probably of German origin, was born, nor are such biographical details of much account for our argument. It stands to reason that Kitty Fischer was not made the heroine of such verses before she had become a really public character. Since she appears to have reached the height of her reputation as professional beauty about 1759, shortly before she became the second and exemplary wife of Mr. Norris, it would seem safe to conjecture that the "Lucy Locket" and "Kitty Fisher" rhyme did not originate many years before 1759. Therefore, the attempt to trace this rhyme, which only gradually can have become a *nursery-rhyme*, by way of this Kitty Fischer to the times of Charles II, 1630 (1660)-1685, was conspicuously absurd. On the other hand, nothing would prevent us from assuming that the rhyme, with whatever melody, may have found its way to America before our war for independence, that is, before 1775. In our country Kitty Fisher appears to have become Lydia Fisher. This modification may have been due to the natural desire to avoid the harsh verbal sound of "pocket—Kitty", and since our people probably took no special interest in the famous Kitty

Fischer's affairs, they substituted Lydia perhaps for some further local reason. But, after all, is it necessary to recognize in the Kitty Fisher of the rhyme the famous Kitty Fischer or any other particular Kitty Fisher? The name surely neither was nor is so uncommon as to compel this association. Indeed Mr. Matthews, following the same line of argument, has found two ladies of this name, contemporary with the beautiful courtesan. The one is "an eminently respectable young lady who is mentioned several times in letters written in 1743-1747 by Lieut. Colonel Charles Russell, of the British Army," the other a "Miss Kitty Fisher, a very young lady at boarding school at Leicester mentioned in the Oxford Magazine, April, 1771." It is entirely possible that "Kitty Fisher" was incorporated in the rhyme without the slightest intention of personal allusion, just because the name "Kitty Fisher" was common and popular, and because it sounds rather well in the rhyme and fits the tune. Should this have been the case, then the absence of real evidence to the effect that the lines were known long before 1800 would fortify the impression that they originated about 1800, and this again would explain nicely why they were sung to (the then already very popular) tune of "Yankee Doodle."

The "Lucy Locket" rhyme was clearly intended for singing, and it is the rule with such folk songs that the melody preceded the text. In other words, the earlier the rhyme is dated the older becomes the melody of "Yankee Doodle," unless the rhyme was sung originally to another tune, which was exchanged later on for the rhythmically similar and catchier "Yankee Doodle." Naturally the idea suggested itself to trace this tune in written or printed form as far back as possible. Here, again, Doctor Rimbault became responsible for much of the confusion surrounding our air. In the Historical Magazine (1858, vol. 2, p. 214), we read that Rimbault found the earliest copy of the tune in "Walsh's collection of dances for the year 1750 where it is printed in 6/8 time, and called *Fisher's Jig*," but in his article in Leisure Hour, 1876, Rimbault turns his back on his previous discoveries and says:

The probability is that the tune is not much older than the time of its introduction into America. We know that it was popular in England at that time, having been printed in one of Thompson's country dance books as *Kitty Fisher's Jig*.

A few lines below Doctor Rimbault gives "a copy of Thompson's version of the tune which is written in triple time. It was afterwards altered to common time, as now known."

The contradictions between these statements are so flagrant that suspicions of Doctor Rimbault's methods not only, but of his veracity, are aroused. It is a disagreeable duty to attack a well-known and defunct scholar, yet Doctor Rimbault stands convicted by his own

testimony. It may be after all that he saw our tune *somewhere*, but first he discovered a "Fisher's jig" in 6—8 time in Walsh, and then, forgetting all about this discovery, he finds it printed in triple time as "Kitty Fisher's Jig" in Thompson. Only if both statements are true, does Rimbault stand acquitted. Now, Mr. William Barclay Squire in the first edition of Grove's Dictionary, has already cast suspicions on Rimbault's statement of 1858 by the remark that "no copy of 'Fisher's Jig' has turned up," and he was repeatedly supported in this statement by Mr. Frank Kidson.

To make absolutely sure whether or no these two eminent authorities on English folk song had found in the meanwhile evidence to support Rimbault, carefully prepared letters of inquiry were addressed to them which they had the kindness to answer as follows:

Mr. Squire, August 5, 1908:

We have [at the British Museum] a small collection of Country Dances published by Walsh in 1750, but no "Yankee Doodle" is in this.

Mr. Kidson, August 12, 1908:

Dr. Rimbault's statements have never been proved. I have seen two copies of Walsh's Dances for 1750 and have seen those for 1742, 1745, 1748, 1765, and in fact have MS. copies of them all in full. I have many (very many) 18th century dance collections and four or five Caledonian Country Dances (Walsh) but nothing like Yankee Doodle in any of them. Kitty Fisher's Jig is also *non est*. and previously Mr. Kidson had informed Mr. Albert Matthews that he had also examined Thompson's Dances from 1751 and 1765 in vain. Finally, Mr. Squire, September 21, 1908:

"Kitty Fisher's Jig" has never turned up . . . he [Mr. Kidson] and I have both looked thro' endless dance books in vain.

Equally void of substance appears to be the claim presented by one J. C. in the Baltimore Clipper, 1841, that an "*Air from Ulysses*," which he found "about the year 1797" in a book of instructions "for the bassoon" was the identical air now called *Yankee Doodle*, with the exception of a few notes."

A careful reader of these quotations from J. C.'s narrative (see p. 102) can not fail to notice that the air evidently was not really identical, that the author is contributing data to the controversy from memory after a lapse of forty years, that he did not have the book of instructions before him when he wrote his article. No methodically trained historian would accept such circumstantial evidence without serious scruples. A curious circumstance about J. C.'s statement is that he begins with a quotation from Burgh's Anecdotes, which has nothing to do with "Yankee Doodle," but merely acquaints the reader with the fact that John Christian Smith [*recte* John Christopher Smith, 1712–1795] composed an opera "Ulysses." Why this quotation? Apparently because J. C. desired to trace the composer of an *Air from*

*Ulysses*, whom he had either forgotten or who was not mentioned in his book of instructions. He remembered the word *Ulysses* in connection with a tune almost identical with "Yankee Doodle," and with the help of Burgh's Anecdotes he conjectured a bridge between the word *Ulysses* and the opera *Ulysses* by John Christopher Smith, which was performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields in 1733. It would seem an easy matter to verify J. C.'s conjecture by a reference to Smith's score, but unfortunately no copy of his opera has ever been discovered, nor is it certain that the music was ever published. However, if a tune like Yankee Doodle was in Smith's opera "Ulysses," then this jiglike tune, must of necessity fit words in the libretto of this mythological opera. Though such a combination appeared to be very improbable, Mr. William Barclay Squire of the British Museum was approached in the matter, and he wrote me under date of September 21, 1908:

Sam<sup>l</sup>. Humphreys' *Ulysses* (libretto) is here, but contains nothing to which one can imagine Y. D. to have been sung. Here are some specimens:

Balmy Slumbers, soft Repose,  
Gently cull my lovely Fair;  
Send your solace to her Woes,  
Ease her of said Deepair, etc. etc.

Or,

Now I die with joy, to be  
Chaste, and dutiful to thee;  
And resign my youthful Bloom,  
All untainted to the Tomb, etc. etc.

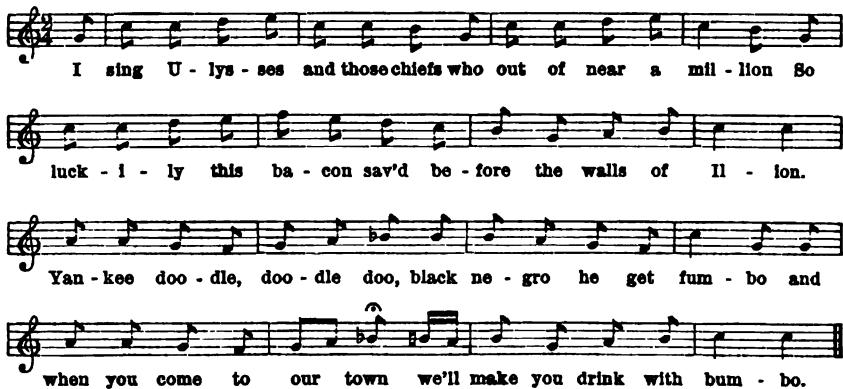
Not only this, Mr. Squire stated that he knows of no such book of instructions for the bassoon as alluded to by J. C.

Like so many other theories of the origin of "Yankee Doodle" the conjecture of a connection between the tune and John Christopher Smith's opera "Ulysses" may safely be dropped.

Ere this a flaw in the J. C. statement had been suspected, and Mr. William H. Grattan Flood in his article quoted on page 106, suggested that the error of asserting an air from *Ulysses* as the source of the tune might have arisen from a confusion of the designation *Ulysses* with a song of that name in Dibdin's Musical Tour, 1788, the full title of which is "The Return of Ulysses to Ithaca." As the analysis of J. C.'s statements leaves it open to doubt from where the "Yankee Doodle" melody in his book of instructions for the bassoon was taken, Mr. Grattan Flood's suggestion is as acceptable as any. The song in question accompanies "Letter LXXXIV" in Dibdin's Musical Tour, and is preceded on page 341 by this bit of explanatory monologue:

"Why," said the Poet, "you may remember Mr. O'Shoknesy, the other night, favoured us with the whole *siege of Troy* to an *Irish* tune—for my part, I felt my consequence as a poet a little touched at it—and so, not to be outdone, I have brought *Ulysses* back to *Ithaca* safely through all his perils, to the tune of—*Yankee Doodle*. . . ."

Omitting the prelude and postlude and the accompaniment, the first of Dibdin's eight burlesque stanzas reads:



A facsimile of the whole song appears in the Appendix as Pl. xlv-xv.

The burlesque song, by the way, was first used by Dibdin in this form for his puppet play "Reasonable Animals," 1780.

The statement in Admiral Preble's "History of the Flag," that the melody of "Yankee Doodle" occurs in an opera composed by Thomas Augustine Arne about 1750 to the words "Did little Dickey ever trick ye," was long ago discredited by Mr. William Barclay Squire in Grove's Dictionary. Mr. Squire called attention to the appearance of the air under its own title in the comic opera "Two to One," of which the libretto was written by George Colman the younger, the music selected, arranged, and composed by Dr. Samuel Arnold and the score published by Harrison & Co. in 1784. The song in question was sung by Mr. Edwin in the character of Dickey Ditto. Plate XVI shows the first stanza with the melody in facsimile.

At the time Mr. Squire held that this probably was the earliest appearance of Yankee Doodle in print, but Mr. Frank Kidson in his fine collection of "Old English Country Dances," 1890, pointed to an earlier version to be found in the first volume of James Aird's "A Selection of Scotch, English, Irish, and Foreign Airs," Glasgow. Since Mr. Kidson could not find "any air in it, which gives a later date than 1775 or 1776," he fixed (on p. 13) the date of publication at about that period, but the late Mr. Glen in his scholarly "Early Scottish Melodies" fixed the date of Aird's first volume as 1782, and Mr. Kidson, in a letter to me (Aug. 12, 1908), accepted this date as "all right." Aird's "Yankee Doodle" is reproduced in facsimile on Plate XVII of the appendix. No earlier appearance in print than this of 1782 has been discovered, and the fact that the same volume contains at least one negro jig and several "Virginian airs" would seem to prove a direct

American influence, probably called forth by the war. Presumably "Yankee Doodle" came to Aird's notice by way of America.

If, then, the ascertained earliest appearances in print of Yankee Doodle in Europe have been traced to (1) James Aird's Selection . . . , first volume, Glasgow, 1782; (2) Samuel Arnold's Opera "Two to One," London, 1874; (3) Charles Dibdin's "Musical Tour," Sheffield, 1788, the question suggests itself, When and where was the tune first printed in America? In his valuable "Songs and Ballads of the American Revolution," 1855, Mr. Moore published a ballad of the title "The Recess." This satire, he says, first appeared at London written by "a true friend of the King and the Colonies." "It was reproduced in America, in 1779, on a music sheet adapted to the tune of *Yankee Doodle*."

Mr. Moore does not mention publisher or place of publication of this music sheet, nor does he point to any library in which it may be found. He may be correct in his statement. In that case I failed to locate the piece when compiling material for my "Bibliography of Early Secular American Music." Until actual proof of the piece's existence is given me, I prefer to suspect that "The Recess" was printed without music as a broadside, perhaps with the indication "To the tune of *Yankee Doodle*." The first stanza as given by Mr. Moore reads:

And now our Senators are gone  
To take their leave of London  
To mourn how little they have done  
How much they have left undone!

Of secular music very little was published in America before 1790, and according to my bibliography "*Yankee Doodle*" did not appear in print in America until Benjamin Carr's "Federal Overture," a medley of patriotic songs, including "*Yankee Doodle*," and composed in 1794, was published "adapted for the pianoforte" by B. Carr, New York, in January, 1795. No copy of this appears to be extant, only a "medley duetto adapted for two German flutes" in the fifth number of Shaw and Carr's "Gentleman's amusement." Unfortunately the copy of the Library of Congress, the only one that has come to my notice lacks the very pages where one could expect to find "*Yankee Doodle*" in the form given it by B. Carr. Nor have I as yet found a copy of John Henry Schmidt's "Sonata for beginners," 1796, in which our air was "turned into a fashionable rondo," nor a copy of "*Yankee Doodle*, an original American air, arranged with variations for the pianoforte," as printed by J. Carr, Baltimore, in 1796. Presumably in June, 1798, "*Yankee Doodle*" was "Published by G. Willig, Market street No. 185, Philadelphia," together with "The President's March. A new Federal Song." ("Hail Columbia.") For facsimile of both, see Pls. IX and X in Appendix.) A copy of this extremely

rare piece is preserved in a miscellaneous volume of "Marches and Battles" at the Ridgway branch of the Library Company of Philadelphia. The melody, sung to the words "Columbians all the present hour," has this form:



This version was composed or rather arranged by James Hewitt, since he advertised, probably between 1800 and 1802, the "*New Yankee Doodle*" beginning "Columbians all the present hour as Brothers should unite us," as "composed and published at his Musical Repository No. 59, Maidenlane, New York." A copy of this song is preserved at Harvard University. Some years later, Gottlieb Graupner, one of Boston's most important musicians, "printed and sold" at his "Musical Academy No. 6, Franklin Street, Franklin Place," "General Washington's March" together with "*Yankee Doodle*" in a simple arrangement for the pianoforte. Mr. Elson's "*History of American Music*" contains a facsimile, and from this the following version of the melody is quoted:



Different again is an earlier form of the tune in the "*Compleat tutor for the fife*," Philadelphia, George Willig [1805]. On page 28 of this curiously American reprint of a rare English publication, we find among the interpolations "*Yankee Doodle*:"



Another early form appears on page 8 of Raynor Taylor's "Martial music of Camp Dupont," Philadelphia, G. E. Blake [ca. 1818]:



Alexander Wheelock Thayer, the Beethoven biographer, communicated to the first edition of Grove "the following version as it was sung sixty years since, and as it has been handed down by tradition in his family from Revolutionary times:"

CHORUS, REFRAIN.

Yan - kee doo - die, keep it up, Yan - kee doo - die dan - dy,  
Mind the mu - sic and the step, and with the girls be han - dy.

These early versions of the melody will be sufficient to demonstrate that "Yankee Doodle," whatever its original form might have been, passed through many hands before it became fixed in the popular mind in its present form. The semiofficial form now used in the United States is contained in John Philipp Sousa's "National Patriotic and Typical Airs of all Lands," Philadelphia, 1890:



This process of elimination and substitution of notes, and even bars is characteristic of many folk songs, and the "Folk" unconsciously adopts the same attitude of mind as does a composer who polishes and changes his melodic ideas until he feels satisfied with the result. But this process also explains, how imperfect rendition and local usage

can produce such abortive and almost incredible versions as the one in James Hulbert's "Variety of Marches" (1803, p. 8) and in his "Complete Fifers' Museum" (Greenfield, Mass. [18-], p. 12):



or the one in Alvan Robinson's "Massachusetts Collection of Martial Musick" (2d. ed., Exeter, 1820, p. 58):



In addition to these early versions in print a few in manuscript are extant. For instance, the facsimile on Plate XVIII shows the form of "Yankee doodle" as it appears in "Whittier Perkins' Book 1790" of "A Collection of Dancing Tunes, Marches, & Song Tunes" now in possession of Mrs. Austin Holden, Boston, Mass. This is an exceedingly interesting collection of more than one hundred tunes, and its importance is increased by the fact that it was written by a person with a very neat hand not only, but a musical hand. Parts of a Boston newspaper of 1788 have been used for the inside of the leather binding, but this, of course, though original, may have been added any time after 1788. The earliest possible date of compilation is 1778, since in that year Francis Hopkinson wrote his "Battle of the Kegs," which figures in the collection. It furthermore looks as if the collection was complete before Whittier Perkins claimed it as his property in 1790. We are perfectly safe in dating this version of "Yankee Doodle" as it appears on the first page of the unpage collection as "about 1790."



## YANKEE DOODLE



This last version is probably a few years earlier. It appears written in a collection of psalm and popular tunes attached to an incomplete copy of Thomas Walter's "Grounds and rules of musick," Boston, edition of 1760, as preserved under number of "G. 38. 23" at the Boston Public Library. As a matter of fact, the manuscript music forms two collections in two different hands. The psalm tunes are paged 26-46 in continuation of the engraved psalm tunes, and on page 42 we read "Wm. Cunningham, Esqr. 1765." These psalm tunes are followed by seventeen pages of such popular airs as "The Hero," "Lovely Nancy," "A trip to Halifax," "God save the King," "Prince Eugene's March," "Bellisle March," "Wild Irishman," "British Grenadiers," and "Yankee Doodle." The presence of so many marches and of a "Hessian Minuet" permits us to conjecture that the collection was written after 1765, either during the war or immediately after. It is therefore perhaps not unsafe to date this version of "Yankee Doodle" as "about 1780." It will be observed and the fact is noted here without an attempt to solve the puzzle, how strikingly these two early American manuscript versions differ from the early printed versions and how much more similarity exists between them and the printed New England versions of 1803 and 1820. *Indeed the assumption is not at all far fetched that Yankee Doodle in its modern form is a composite tune, formed out of at least two different tunes of different age.* Finally a version may here be recorded which Mr. Frank Kidson found in a manuscript book in his possession, the first date in which is 1790 and the last 1792:



"Yankee Doodle" has gradually become a national march, a national air. That its text is now more or less obsolete, is so evident as not to require proof. The only words current are with slight variations:

Yankee Doodle came to town  
Riding on a pony,  
Stuck a feather in his hat  
And called it Macaroni.

These or similar words Admiral Preble, 1816–1885 in his childhood heard repeatedly (see p. 104) from his father, Capt. Enoch Preble, 1763–1842. As far as I can see, this is the only evidence we have that the words were known in America as early as about 1820. They may have originated much earlier. How much earlier, depends on the circumstantial evidence offered by the words "Yankee Doodle" and "Macaroni." The combination of "Yankee" and "Doodle" was, so Andrew Barton's "The Disappointment" proves, fairly current in 1767, at least in Philadelphia. Since no earlier reference to a tune "Yankee Doodle" has come to light, and since it is entirely possible that the tune under this title had rushed into popularity in the very year of publication of "The Disappointment," no earlier date for the use of the words "Yankee Doodle" would be safe than "at least as early as 1767." After that, the use of these two words in combination became, as we know, fairly frequent, at any rate in America, Doodle retaining its old meaning and "Yankee" becoming preferably a nickname for New Englanders. In England the combination "Yankee Doodle" probably was not used until about or after 1770.

As Mr. William Barclay Squire informed me, the British Museum [G. 310. (163)] preserves a single-sheet song, called "Yankee Doodle, or, the Negroes Farewell to America. The words and music by T. L." The sheet bears the initials C. & S., i. e., Charles and Samuel Thompson, who published music at London from 1764 to 1776 or 1778. (The music bears no relation to our "Yankee Doodle" tune. This is mentioned here because somebody in the ecstasy of discovery may claim that T. L. wrote and composed our "Yankee Doodle.") The publishers may have printed this sheet song as early as 1764 or as late as 1778. Consequently, it does not help us positively to trace the earliest known use of the words "Yankee Doodle" in England.

Attention had been drawn to this song in Notes and Queries as early as 1852, and by Doctor Rimbault in Notes and Queries December 1, 1860, and in the Historical Magazine, 1861, where he stated that the British Museum gave the song the conjectural date of 1775. Rimbault added the titles of two other "Yankee Doodle" songs printed in England and preserved at the British Museum, which are of interest in this connection:

- (1) D'Estaing eclipsed, or Yankee Doodle's defeat. By T. Poynton.
- (2) "Yankee Doodle, or (as now christened by the saints of New England), the *Lexington March*."

Rimbault further stated that Poynton's song has its own melody, whereas the second song has the familiar "Yankee Doodle" music, a statement since verified by Mr. William Barclay Squire, Mr. Matthews, and others. Of the text of this particular "Yankee Doodle" song more will be said later on. Here it is sufficient to remark that Mr.

Albert Matthews discovered a copy of it in possession of Mr. John Ritchie, jr., of Boston. It bears the imprint of Thomas Skillern, London, and he is known, according to Mr. Frank Kidson's "British Music Publishers," to have printed music under his own name at 17 St. Martin's lane between 1777-78 and 1799. Therefore, this particular publication by Skillern can not have contributed to the circulation of the words "Yankee Doodle" in England before 1777.

With reference to "D'Estaing eclipsed, or Yankee Doodle's defeat," this quotation from the Gentleman's Magazine, 1783, by Petersfield in the Magazine of American History (1877, Vol. I, p. 452), will be of service:

Your readers and the public must remember an object of compassion who used to sing ballads, about the streets and went by the vulgar appellation of *Yankee Doodle*, alluding to a song he sang about London, at the Commencement of the American War; his real name was Thomas Poynton.

Apparently he was identical with the author and composer of "D'Estaing eclipsed." In that case, he most probably sang his own "Yankee Doodle" words and tune about the streets and not our "Yankee Doodle." However, since D'Estaing was "eclipsed" in 1778 and 1779, T. Poynton can not have contributed to the circulation of the words "Yankee Doodle" in England until after 1778.

These data render it very improbable that lines containing the two words "Yankee Doodle" in this combination can have originated in England before 1764. This allows the widest possible margin (the beginning of C. and S. Thompson's activity as music publishers), whereas the probabilities are that the two words were not current in England until considerably after 1770.

Turning to the word "Macaroni" in our doggerel quatrain—

Yankee Doodle came to town  
Riding on a pony  
Stuck a feather in his hat  
And called it Macaroni,

it may have been used as mere nonsense, the fun consisting in the in itself burlesque association of "feather in his hat" and "Macaroni" without any hidden meaning. In this case the word "Macaroni" would afford no tangible clue for tracing the earliest possible date of the verses. It is different if the prevailing and almost obviously correct impression be accepted that we have here an allusion to the London Macaronis imitated by a New England doodle with the aspirations of a dandy and a fop.

According to Doctor Murray's Oxford English Dictionary the word "Macaroni" as applied to a certain kind of burlesque poetry, dates back to 1638 and flourished between 1727 and 1741. In the sense of fop, dandy, it was the exquisite of a class which arose in England about 1760 and consisted of young men who had traveled and affected the taste and fashions prevalent in continental society. Again, according to Doctor Murray, this use seems to be from the name of the

"Macaroni Club," a designation probably adopted to indicate the preferences of the members for foreign cookery, macaroni still being at that time little eaten, though the dish was known in England as early as Ben Jonson's time (1599). Horace Walpole, on February 6, 1764, speaks of "the Macaroni Club, which is composed of all the traveled young men, who wear long curls and spying glasses." A few months later, on May 27, 1764, he writes: "Lady Falkener's daughter is to be married to a young rich Mr. Crewe, a Macarone, and of our Loo." Mr. Henry B. Wheatley in "London Past and Present" (1891, Vol. II, p. 453) states that the Macaroni Club was "instituted in 1764." As Mr. Wheatley does not allude to any authority for this definite date, I agree with Mr. Matthews that he ought rather to have stated "about 1764." Moreover, Mr. Matthews unearthed an important account of the origin of the word as applied to fops under the title "Macaroni explained" in the Scots Magazine for November, 1772:

Macaroni is, in the Italian language, a word made use of to express a compound dish made of vermicelli and other pastes . . . This dish was far from being universally known in this country till the commencement of the last peace: when, like many other foreign fashions, it was imported by our *connoscenti* in eating, as an improvement to the subscription-table at Almack's. In time, the subscribers to those dinners became to be distinguished by the title of *Macaroni*; and as the meeting was composed of the younger and gayer part of our nobility and gentry, who, at the same time that they gave in to the luxuries of eating, went equally into the extravagances of dress, the word *Macaroni* changed its meaning to that of a person who exceeded the ordinary bounds of fashion, and is now justly used as a term of reproach to all ranks of people, indifferently, who fall into this absurdity.

The "last peace" was the Peace of Paris, 1763. This together with the fact that the statement was made less than a decade from that peace and that nobody has succeeded in unearthing a reference to "Macaroni" in the sense of fop earlier than 1764, leads to a very simple conclusion: If in our "Yankee Doodle" lines the word "Macaroni" is used in the sense of fop, then the lines almost with certainty had their origin *after* 1764. It is further significant that the Macaronis, who affected immense knots of artificial hair, ludicrously small cock-hats [!], enormous walking sticks with long tassels and jackets, waistcoats and breeches of very close cut (see Wright's Caricature History of the Georges, London [1868], p. 259), reached the height of their reign as arbiters of advanced fashion from about 1770 to 1775. All this direct and circumstantial evidence on the words "Yankee Doodle" and "Macaroni" leads to the conclusion that our doggerel quatrain did not originate until about or after 1764. Furthermore, it undermines the possibility that the verses were not written in America and since no reference is made in English sources to these lines until far into the nineteenth century, it may be taken for granted that indeed the lines originated in America. The question would still remain open, by whom were they written? By a city-bred Colonial, who merely desired to ridicule the rustic New Eng-

landers, or by a Tory or by a Britisher? Had two or three verses, unmistakably belonging together, been preserved instead of one, the question would probably have been easy to answer. The stanza—

Yankee Doodle came to town  
Riding on a pony, etc.

never appears with companion stanzas, and yet it is safe to say that such existed. Unless an authentic contemporary copy of the whole "poem" turns up, we, at this late date, can do no more than call attention to some verses which have survived, and which may have belonged to the original string of stanzas, or at least may have been inspired by them. Such verses are the following:

1. From Watson's "Annals of Philadelphia," 1844, contained also in his letter of February, 1832:

Yankee Doodle came to town  
For to buy a firelock:  
We will tar and feather him  
And so we will John Hancock.

2. Samuel Breck in his "Recollections" (1877, p. 132), writing about 1830 and speaking of John Hancock, said:

. . . This subject brings to my mind four verses to the tune of "Yankee Doodle"  
often sung by the British officers during the Revolution:

Madam Hancock dreamt a dream;  
She dreamt she wanted something;  
She dreamt she wanted a Yankee King,  
To crown him with a pumpkin.

3. George H. Moore's manuscript on "Yankee Doodle" previously mentioned contains this stanza recorded by an "old gentleman who recalled [it] about 1830 as one of a ditty common in his own school days":

Yankee Doodle came to town  
Put on his strip'd trowse's  
And vow'd he could n't see the place (town)  
There was so many houses.

This last verse, just as the "Macaroni" verse, deals humorously with the personal appearance of Yankee Doodle, and while slightly satirical, might have been written not only by a Britisher, but by any American, Tory or Rebel, who desired to poke some fun at the New England country bumpkins. It is different with the first and second verse just quoted. They obviously can have been penned only by a Tory or a Britisher, and the question merely is what date of origin their contents suggest, though they do not seem to have appeared in print until far into the nineteenth century. A brief reference to the biography of so well known a historical figure as John Hancock will answer the question without much further comment:

Born in 1737 at Quincy, Mass., John Hancock became one of the most active "Sons of Liberty" (after 1765), a representative of the Massachusetts Legislature, 1766-1772, and he was a member of the Committee to demand of the royal governor the removal of the British troops from Boston, 1770. The efforts of the governor to secure his and Samuel Adams's person, led to the Battle of Lexington April 18

and 19, 1775 and caused Gen. Gage to exclude both from the general pardon granted the rebels. Chosen President of the Provincial Congress in October, 1774, he became a delegate to the Continental Congress, 1775-1780, and its President from May, 1775, to October, 1777. He married Dorothy Quincy at Fairfield, Conn., August 28, 1775.

The "Madam Hancock" verse, therefore—so it may be argued—was not written before August 28, 1775, but a "Madam Hancock" may have been introduced for reasons of satire into this verse by its author without the slightest knowledge whether or not John Hancock was married. Nor do the words "Yankee King" necessarily point to the year 1775, when Hancock became President of the Continental Congress, because it appears from "A New Song" in the Boston Gazette of March 26, 1770 (to which Mr. Matthews called my attention) that the sobriquet "K—g H—k" was applied to him as early as 1770. However, "Madam Hancock" and "Yankee King" taken together would seem to lend force to the conjecture that this particular verse originated after August 28, 1775, rather than before. No such circumstantial evidence attaches to the "tar and feather" verse, except that from 1768 on the patriots delighted in inflicting this pastime on the Tories, and that John Hancock certainly was despised by Tory and Britisher alike after 1770 more than before.

The three verses beginning "Yankee Doodle came to town," it may safely be assumed, belong to the same breed of verses, though they and others may not have been written by one author or on the same occasion. The "Madam Hancock" verse surely had a source not very distant from that of the others, and as far as the date of origin of all four verses is concerned, everything seems to point to a date later than 1770. For practical purposes, indeed, these verses may be said to have been written probably about 1775.

On page 105 of this report George H. Moore's unpublished opinion of Doctor Shuckburgh's share in the fortunes of "Yankee Doodle" was quoted in part. He there mentions as "The only verses I have met with which carry any appearance of having been a part of the original."

There is a man in our town  
I pity his condition,  
He sold his oxen and his sheep  
To buy him a commission—

When his own commission he had got,  
He proved a nation coward  
He durst not go to Cape Breton  
For fear he'd be devoured.

Moore does not say that he got these verses from an "old gentleman" remembering them like the "Strip'd trowse's" verse about 1830, nor does he state who this old gentleman was, nor would a disclosure of identity help us much. Any attempt to date these two verses must take its cue from the allusion to Cape Breton: the author of the verses,

clearly belonging together, referred either to the capture of Cape Breton on June 17, 1745, by the Americans, or by General Amherst on July 26, 1758 (Louisbourg).

Here the matter would have to rest, but for the "Yankee Doodle" song published by Thomas Skillern, of London, between 1777 and 1799, and preserved at the British Museum. As stated on page 177, Mr. Matthews discovered another copy at Boston in possession of Mr. Ritchie, jr., who allowed the Library of Congress to secure a facsimile. (See Appendix, Pl. XX.) The title and text read:

YANKEE DOODLE;  
or,  
(as now christened by the Saints of New England)

THE LEXINGTON MARCH.

N. B. The Words to be Sung throu' the Nose, & in the West  
Country drawl & dialect.

[Here the music and first verse follow.]

1. Brother Ephraim sold his Cow  
And bought him a Commission,  
And then he went to Canada  
To fight for the Nation.  
But when Ephraim he came home  
He prov'd an arrant Coward,  
He wou'dn't fight the Frenchmen there,  
For fear of being devour'd.
2. Sheep's Head and Vinegar,  
Buttermilk and Tansy,  
Boston is a Yankee town,  
Sing Hey Doodle Dandy.  
First we'll take a Pinch of Snuff,  
And then a drink of Water,  
And then we'll say, How do you do,  
And that's a Yanky's Supper.
3. Aminidab is just come Home,  
His Eyes all greas'd with Bacon  
And all the news that he cou'd tell  
Is Cape Breton is taken.  
Stand up Jonathan  
Figure in by Neighbor,  
Nathan stand a little off  
And make the Room some wider.
4. Christmas is a coming Boys,  
We'll go to Mother Chases,  
And there we'll get a Sugar Dram,  
Sweeten'd with Melasses.  
Heigh ho for our Cape Cod,  
Heigh ho Nantasket,  
Do not let the Boston wags  
Feel your Oyster Basket.
5. Punk in Pye is very good,  
And so is Apple Lantern,  
Had you been whipp'd as oft as I  
You'd not have been so wanton.  
Uncle is a Yankee Man,  
I'faith he pays us all off,  
And he has got a Fiddle  
As big as Daddy's Hog's Trough.

Stanzas sixth and seventh are too obscene for quotation. The sixth, however, contains a reference to "Doctor Warren," and if the famous patriot Joseph Warren is meant, as is probable, then this stanza must have been written after 1764, when Warren began to practice medicine at Boston, and most likely before June 17, 1775, when he was killed at the Battle of Bunker Hill. If the whole song were known as a unit, and printed by Skillern in its original and complete form, then the allusion to Doctor Warren would also settle the approximately latest date of the text. In the absence of any such positive information, we are obliged to fall back on the single stanzas and on the title. Whatever the date of the text in part or as a whole may be, the title "*Yankee Doodle or The Lexington March*" clearly alludes to the momentous battle of Lexington and Concord April 18 and 19, 1775, and can not have been prefixed to the text before this date, though, of course, the text could have been written earlier without this particular title. The second and fifth stanza do not offer any clew except "Boston is a *Yankee town*" and "Uncle is a *Yankee Man*." The history of the use of the word as applied to New England, renders it probable that these stanzas were written after 1760. The third mentions the taking of Cape Breton as "news," but it is not at all necessary to date the stanza therefore as early as 1745 or 1758. The joke of the stanza may have consisted in this, to picture the Yankee Aminidab as such a country bumpkin and so absurdly behind the times, that "all the news that he cou'd tell" was the taking of Cape Breton. The more years had elapsed since that memorable event, the more effective the joke. Whether this was the intention of the author or not, we at least need not hesitate to date the stanza later than several months after July 26, 1758, because it would really be carrying historical accuracy too far to consider seriously the year 1745 in connection with any "*Yankee Doodle*" song.

The first stanza is still more puzzling. It may refer either to the French-Canadian war, and more particularly again to the year 1758, or to our own expedition to Canada in 1776. In the latter case the allusion to "The Frenchman" would be a little troublesome, though here again the joke may consist in ridiculing Brother Ephraim's anachronistic notions. That in older times the stanza was connected with the French-Canadian war rather than with the war of the Revolution may be argued from the fact that the two verses quoted on page 130 clearly refer to the expedition against Cape Breton in 1758, and these two verses, it will be noticed, are strikingly kin to the "Brother Ephraim" stanza. So kin indeed that one must have been evolved from the other. The two four liners, whatever their date of origin, were not recorded until far into the nineteenth

century, whereas the "Brother Ephraim" stanza was published possibly as early as 1777. Consequently, in absence of proof to the contrary, the natural assumption must be that the "Brother Ephraim" stanza was the prototype.

The inferences to be drawn from this text interpretation are these:

(1) If the poem including the title was a unit, then it must have been written some time after April 18, 1775 (battle of Lexington and Concord), but not very much later than June 17, 1775 (Warren's death).

(2) If the poem was a unit, originally without the title "Yankee Doodle or the Lexington March," then it might have been written not much later than June 17, 1775, and not earlier than 1764.

(3) If the poem printed in this form, was a composite, then the single verses were written any time after July 26, 1758 (Amherst's victory at Cape Breton), and before the date of publication.

Whatever inference be preferred, with all its consequences, no disagreement seems possible on the point that this text was not written by a New Englander, but can only have been penned by either an American Tory or a Britisher. Here attention must be called to the statement of Reverend Gordon (see p. 95), who under date of "Roxbury, April 26, 1775," calls "Yankee Doodle" "a song composed in derision of the New Englanders." In view of such contemporary evidence it would be folly to deny the substantial correctness of this statement. Whether or not the story recorded by the anonymous author in Farmer & Moore's Collections, May, 1824, correctly adds the detail "composed by a British officer of the Revolution" is immaterial. The fact remains that verses composed, i. e., written in *derision* of the New Englanders must have existed before April 26, 1775, in form of a specific well-known song, to which, of course, any number of verses might have been added later on *ad libitum*. If the first of the three inferences enumerated above be adopted, then the shortness of the interval between April 18 and April 26, 1775, would seem to exclude the possibility that Reverend Gordon had "Yankee Doodle or the Battle of Lexington" in mind, and in that case the "Yankee Doodle came to town" verses would offer themselves more readily for a solution of the problem. If, on the other hand, inferences second or third be preferred, we would have our choice between *two* texts without much evidence in favor of either. However, there exists a *third* text, and the inability to keep the three asunder has caused much of the frightful confusion surrounding our "Yankee Doodle."

In the history of the American drama, Royall Tyler's comedy "The Contrast" holds the place of a pioneer work. Though not published until 1790, at Philadelphia, the play was acted as early as April, 1787, at New York, and performed there and elsewhere with more or less

success. In "The Contrast" we find in Act III, scene 1, this amusing bit of dialogue. Jonathan, the first stage Yankee, when asked to sing a song, says:

all my tunes go to meeting tunes [psalm tunes], save one, and I count you won't altogether like that 'ere.

*Jenny:* What is it called?

*Jonathan:* I am sure you have heard folks talk about it, it is called Yankee Doodle.

*Jenny:* Oh! it is the tune I am fond of, and, if I know any thing of my mistress, she would be glad to dance to it. Pray, sing?

*Jonathan* [Sings]:

Father and I went up to camp,  
Along with Captain Goodwin;  
And there we saw the men and boys,  
As thick as hasty-pudding.  
Yankee doodle do, etc.

And then we saw a swamping gun  
Big as a log of maple,  
On a little deuced cart,  
A load for father's cattle.  
Yankee Doodle do, etc.

And every time they fired it off  
It took a horn of powder,  
It made a noise like father's gun,  
Only a nation louder.  
Yankee Doodle do, etc.

There was a man in our town  
His name was —

No, no, that won't do. . . . [after some dialogue]

*Jonathan:* No, no, I can sing no more, some other time, when you and I are better acquainted, I'll sing the whole of it—no, no—that's a fib—I can't sing but a hundred and ninety-nine verses: Our Tabitha at home can sing it all—[Sings]

Marblehead's a rocky place,  
And Cape-Cod is sandy;  
Charlestown is burned down,  
Boston is the dandy.  
Yankee doodle, doodle do, etc.

I vow my own town song has put me into such topping spirits, that I believe I'll begin to do a little, as Jessamy says we must when we go a courting— . . .

Enough of the dialogue has been quoted to make it self-evident that Royall Tyler did not write these verses himself, but merely borrowed them for his purposes from what the Germans so happily call the "Volksmund." Discounting some of the hundred and ninety-nine verses as part of Tyler's humorous poetic license, it is clear that many folk poets must have been at work to form such an endless chain of verses for Yankee Doodle, the single links of which would be left out or inserted according to local preferences, as is so often the case with folk songs. It is, furthermore, clear that the text, whole or in part, could not have become so well known and popular in one or two or three years in a country like America to make a reference to more than 199 ballad verses an effective bit of humorous

exaggeration and comedy writing. Thus we seem to drift back toward Revolutionary times, but it is also significant that at least the verse "Marblehead's a rocky place" can not have been written before June 17, 1775, the day on which Charlestown was burned down by General Gage. Nor would there have been any sense in writing them after 1785, when the town was rapidly rising from the ashes.

Curiously enough, this verse, which seems to have been written between middle of June, 1775 and 1785, appears in none of the historically important sources of the publications of the "Yankee Doodle" text. No safe inference is to be drawn from this fact, but one is naturally inclined to believe that it was a local interpolation not belonging to the original text.

The publications of the text alluded to are the following:

(1) A broadside entitled "The Yankee's Return From Camp," containing fifteen stanzas and adorned in the upperhand corners by two grotesque woodcuts. This broadside is in the possession of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester. The Library of Congress possesses, by courtesy of this institution, a photographic facsimile of this broadside (See Appendix, Pl. XXI), as also of the following broadside preserved at the American Antiquarian Society:

(2) "The Yankey's Return From Camp. Together with the favorite Song of the Black Bird." This version of "Yankee Doodle," too, has fifteen stanzas. (See Appendix, Pl. XXII.)

(3) "The Farmer and his Son's return from a visit to the Camp." The whereabouts of the original of this broadside are now unknown, but Mr. Worthington C. Ford, while still with the Boston Public Library, had a blueprint made of the original, and this blueprint he presented to Mr. Albert Matthews of Boston. Mr. Matthews, in turn, permitted the Library of Congress to photograph this doubly unique blueprint for this report. A description is unnecessary, as Plate XXIII shows this blueprint in facsimile.

(4) Under title of "Yankee Doodle" eleven stanzas contributed by an anonymous writer to Farmer and Moore's Collections (1824, vol. 3, p. 159-160), with five stanzas added by the editors:

#### YANKEE DOODLE.

1. Father and I went down to camp,  
Along with Captain Goodwin,  
Where we *see* the men and boys  
As thick as Hasty-puddin.
2. There was *captain* Washington  
Upon a *slapping* stallion,  
*A* giving orders to his men—  
*I guess* there was a million.
3. And then the feathers on his hat,  
They look'd so *tarnal fina*,  
I wanted *pockily* to get  
To give to my Jemima.

4. And there they had a *swampin* gun  
As large as log of maple,  
On a *deuced* little cart—  
A load for father's cattle;
5. And every time they fired it off,  
It took a horn of powder;  
It made a noise like father's gun,  
Only a *nation* louder.
6. I went as near to it myself  
As Jacob's *underpinin*,  
And father went *as near again*—  
I thought the *deuce* was in him.
7. And there I *see* a little keg,  
Its heads were made of leather—  
They knock'd upon 't with little sticks  
To call the folks together.
8. And there they'd fife *away like fun*,  
And play on *cornstock* fiddles,  
And some had *ribbons* red as blood,  
All *wound* about their middles.
9. The troopers, too, would gallop up  
And fire right in our faces;  
It scar'd me almost half to death  
To see them run such races.
10. Old uncle Sam. *come* there to change  
Some pancakes and some onions,  
For *lasses-cakes*, to carry home  
To give his wife and young ones.
11. But I can't tell you half I *see*  
They kept up such a smother;  
So I took my hat off—made a bow,  
And scamper'd home to mother.

[The editors are in possession of a copy of *Yankee Doodle* which contains several verses more than the foregoing. We will add them, though we are not certain but that they are interpolations.]

After verse 6:

Cousin Simon grew so bold,  
I thought he would have cock'd it,  
It scar'd me so, I shrink'd it off,  
And hung by father's pocket.

And Captain Davis had a gun,  
He *kind* a clapt his hand on 't,  
And stuck a crooked stabbing iron  
Upon the little end on 't.

And there I *see* a pumpkin shell,  
As big as mother's bason,  
And every time they touch'd it off,  
They scamper'd *like the nation*.

After verse 10:

I *see* another *snarl* of men  
A digging graves, they told me,  
So *tarnal* long, so *tarnal* deep,  
They *tended* they should hold me.

It scar'd me so, I *hook'd* it off  
Nor stopt as I remember,  
Nor turn'd about till I got home,  
Lock'd up in mother's chamber.

A comparison of the three broadsides given in the Appendix in photographic facsimile proves that the texts are identical, though the titles and the orthography differ a little. Each broadside has fifteen stanzas in the same sequence, each has the spelling "Yankey Doodle" in the chorus, and what is not without importance, each has "Captain *Gooding*" in the second line of the first stanza. These three broadsides therefore represent three issues of one and the same poem not only, but of the poem in a concrete and accepted form.

The anonymous contributor to Farmer & Moore's Collections remarked that his was a "copy of the song as it was printed thirty-five years since, and as it was troll'd in our Yankee circles of that day." This would establish the year 1789 as approximate date of the original publication, but it does not follow that he actually copied the words from a printed broadside or page before him at the time of writing his article. He may have copied from memory, as it were, the song as printed and current about 1789. Though no broadside or sheet song appears to have come down to us with the unquestionable date of 1789, we are not justified in assuming that the anonymous invented the existence of a publication of the "Yankee Doodle" text about 1789, and in absence of negative proof are permitted only to regret that no copy of this publication is accessible.<sup>a</sup>

It is clear that this Yankee Doodle story lends itself to endless variation and expansion, and Royall Tyler's humorous "one hundred and ninety-nine verses" is an illusion to the fertility of the folk mind in inventing new stanzas with or without local flavor. Between 1789 and 1824 our anonymous therefore must have heard many stanzas not printed in the nonextant publication of 1789. If he then, in 1824, did not copy the text from a broadside before him, but from memory, very probably he no longer was able to distinguish such stanzas as actually occurred in the 1789 edition from those added later on. Nor would he be absolutely successful in adhering to the original order of the stanzas or in every instance to the original text. That this conjecture, and not the one which would imply actual copy of a broadside before the anonymous contributor to Farmer & Moore, comes nearer the truth may be inferred from the facts that the first seven stanzas of the eleven, though not in the same sequence, appear in the old broadsides, that the five stanzas added by Farmer & Moore appear in the same broadsides, and that only three of the fifteen stanzas in these broadsides do not appear in Farmer & Moore. Consequently Farmer & Moore used a copy of one of these three broad-

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<sup>a</sup> This attitude involves certain consequences, for instance, as the tenth stanza contains a reference to "old Uncle Sam." This Americanism possibly was derived from Yankee Doodle verses current about 1789, and did not originate as late as about 1812.

sides, and since it will become clear that they contain in all probability the original text in an accepted form it follows that not the five stanzas added by Farmer & Moore, but, on the contrary, the stanzas eight to eleven in the version of our anonymous are interpolations. It will be further noticed that three of the stanzas appear also in Royall Tyler's comedy. Consequently, everything tends to safeguard the assumption that here we have the text of the "Yankee's Return from Camp" in its best-known, oldest, and presumably original form. The question now is whether or not the broadsides themselves help to trace the date of origin of this text. The "Yankee's Return from Camp" has the imprint, "N. Coverly, jr., Printer, Milk-Street, Boston." Reference to the Boston City Directories proves that this printer flourished between 1810 and 1823, the "jr." disappearing from the directory of 1818. However, the broadside can not have been printed after 1813, since it forms part of the curious collection of songs, ballads, etc., in three volumes, presented to the American Antiquarian Society by Isaiah Thomas in 1814, with the statement that it was "purchased from a ballad printer and seller in Boston, 1813. Bound up for preservation—to shew that the articles of this kind are in vogue with the vulgar at this time, 1814." Consequently the date of this particular broadside is fixed as between 1810 and 1813.

No such definite clew is given in the broadside of "The Yankey's Return from Camp. Together with the favorite Song of the Black Bird." The spelling of *Yankey* instead of *Yankee* suggests the second half of the eighteenth century rather than the first half of the nineteenth, but the argument is not a safe one, since the spelling with *y* is easily traced in early nineteenth-century literature. Indeed, it appears in the very chorus of Coverly's broadside, 1810–1813. In his amazingly minute monograph on the Americanism "Uncle Sam" (p. 61 of the reprint from Proceedings of the Am. Ant. Soc., 1908), Mr. Matthews infers from Isaiah Thomas's dedicatory words accompanying the gift of this ballad collection that our anonymous broadside was "probably printed in 1813." In private correspondence (November 30, 1908) Mr. Matthews asserts that "The burden of the proof lies on him who asserts that the 'Yankey's Return' was printed before 1813." I utterly fail to see how even a strictly literal interpretation leads to a definite year. Isaiah Thomas merely says that he purchased the entire collection, not merely *this* broadside, from a ballad printer and seller in 1813. Even without the fact that some of the ballads were printed earlier, it would have been contrary to common sense to assume that the three volumes of ballads were actually printed in one and the same year, 1813. Thomas's words do not really give any clew to the dates of publication of his ballads,

except that they can not have been later than 1813, and that they are somewhat limited by the remark "in vogue with the vulgar at this time, 1814." But if they were in vogue one year *after* the collection was purchased by him, they may, at the very least, have been in vogue one year *before*, 1812. But I doubt that Isaiah Thomas intended his remarks to be taken thus narrowly, and it will be methodically just as correct to give his words enough elasticity to prevent literal interpretations from ending unnecessarily in blind alleys. "At this time, 1814," may safely be taken to mean about this time, or, in round figures, as we are dealing with popular ballads more or less in vogue, the first quarter of the nineteenth century.

We also fail to find a definite clew to the date of publication of this particular broadside, if we turn our attention to "The favorite song of the Black Bird." All authorities (see f. i., Christie's Traditional ballad airs) agree that the song appears in the very earliest edition of Ramsay's Tea Table Miscellany, 1724-1727, and Mr. Grattan Flood, in his History of Irish Music, 1906, asserts that he found allusion to the song in 1709. Of course, the broadside can not have been published before "The Black Bird" became a favorite, and probably was not published after the song had ceased to be a favorite. Different melodies have been recorded for this song, but the texts preserved are practically identical and the text proves "The Black Bird" to be a Jacobite song. One version is given on page 68 of the second volume of Hogg's Jacobite Relics, 1821, and it is very significant that the author says in his note on the song (p. 288):

The Blackbird, seems to have been one of the street songs of the day; at least, it is much in that style, and totally different from the manner of most Jacobite songs. It has had, however, considerable popularity. This copy was communicated by Mr. Fairley, schoolmaster in Tweedsmuir.

This surely does not read as if "the Blackbird" was still a favorite in Scotland in 1821. Furthermore, while it is claimed that the words appear in "The American Songster," Baltimore, 1830, it is a fact that most American songsters of the first quarter of the nineteenth century do not contain the song, nor can it be found in such standard collections of Scotch songs as Smith's "Scottish Minstrel" [182-]; Graham's "Songs of Scotland," 1848-1850; Johnson's "Scottish musical museum," 1859-; Johnson's "Scots Musical Museum" [1787]. There are still other reasons for holding that the song had passed its popularity in 1813. The words of "The Blackbird," as printed in the broadside and as anybody can see, clearly make veiled allusion to the Pretenders or their cause. The farther away from this time the song is removed chronologically the less popular it presumably was. Not only this, but the sentimental and once so popular song "The Maid's Lamentation," so the authorities in English folk song like

Baring-Gould and Chappell tell us, had one of its earliest appearances in print in the "Songster's Magazine," 1804, and this song has all the appearance of being a mere imitation and variation of "The Blackbird," or at least of having been poetically influenced by it. The "Maid's Lamentation" in its early form begins:

Early one morning, just as the sun was rising  
I heard a young damsel sigh and complain  
Oh gentle shepherd, why am I forsaken?  
Oh why should I in sorrow remain!

After that the lines differ widely, yet the underlying poetic motive is the same—a lamentation on the loss of a beloved "blackbird," or sailor, or shepherd, etc.

All this seems to substantiate the impression that the broadside with "The favorite song of the Blackbird" should be dated away from the year 1813 rather than toward it. However, one part is undeniable: The Blackbird can not have been printed together with "The Yankey's return from Camp" before the words of the latter were written.

The mysterious F. B. N. S. wrote in 1857 and promised to prove in a book:

The verses commencing "Father and I went down to the camp" were written by a gentleman of Connecticut a short time after Gen. Washington's last visit to New England . . . .

This visit occurred in the fall of 1789, and therewith collapses the statement of F. B. N. S. In fact, in this form it is so absurd that one is almost led to suspect that he did not mean exactly what he wrote. The absurdity would disappear if F. B. N. S., either not knowing of or forgetting Washington's last visit, really alluded to his forelast visit. This would carry us to the so-called "Provincial Camp," Cambridge, Mass., where George Washington arrived on July 2, 1775, after his appointment as commander in chief of the American Army, and from where he removed headquarters after the evacuation of Boston on March 25, 1776. Unfortunately the book of ballads in which F. B. N. S. promised proof of his statement (see p. 100) has not been traced, and therefore we are also entirely in the dark as to the reasons for assigning the authorship of the text to a gentleman of Connecticut. Nor would this gentleman be without a competitor since Dr. Edward Everett Hale when printing the "Yankey's Return" in his "New England History in Ballads," 1903, remarked:

An autograph note of Judge Dawes, of the Harvard class of 1777, addressed to my father, says that the author of the well-known lines was Edward Bangs, who graduated with him.

The historian would have preferred to see the autograph note of Judge Dawes printed in full, as in this form it merely assigns the poem to a member of the Harvard class of 1777 without defining the

date or place of Edward Bangs's poetic effusion. According to Doctor Hale's meager information, Edward Bangs might have written the lines any year between the time he was able to mount Pegasus and 1787, when part of the text was quoted in "The Contrast" written as Mr. Matthews suggestively pointed out in his monograph on "Uncle Sam" by a member of the Harvard class of 1776. In this connection it is also suggestive that Bangs had, as a college boy, joined the Middlesex farmers in the pursuit of April 19, 1775, that Harvard College was transferred from Cambridge to Concord in September, 1775, and returned to Cambridge in 1776. On the other hand there appears to exist no evidence, positive, circumstantial, or even traditional, that the words of the "Yankey's Return from Camp" were written or known before the war for independence, that is, before 1775.

If we turn to the text itself, it clearly reveals an American origin. It is so full of American provincialisms, slang expressions of the time, allusions to American habits, customs, that no Englishman could have penned these verses. Even if he could have done so, he would not have done so, because his poetic efforts in this form would largely have been a puzzle to his comrades. Had this text been a British production, it would have found its way to England, which apparently is not the case. To be a British satire on the unmilitary appearance of provincial American troops, as has been said, the verses would have to be derisively satirical, which they are not. They breathe good-natured humor and they deal not at all with the uncouth appearance of American soldiery, but with the experience of a Yankee greenhorn in matters military who went down to a military camp and upon his return narrates in his own naive style the impressions made on him by all the wonderful sights of military pomp and circumstance. But the text helps us beyond proving a mere American origin. Our Yankee clearly describes not an imaginary camp, but a particular camp, and part of the desired effect was calculated by the author from personal allusions: Captain Gooding, Squire David, Captain Davis, Captain Washington. These names were unmistakably borrowed from life. One need not go deeply into the military records of the several States to find captains by the name of Gooding and Davis. A perusal of Heitman's "Historical Register of Officers of the Continental Army" of "Massachusetts Soldiers and the Sailors of the Revolutionary War," etc., will bear out my statement abundantly, indeed confusingly. At any rate, the names of Gooding and Davis can not be used against the present network of argument, whereas the allusion to and description of a "Captain Washington and gentlefolks about him" who is "grown so tarnal proud, he will not ride without 'em," etc., as a bit of humorously twisted characterization, fits none so well as George Washington,

commander in chief. Without this allusion to George Washington, the date of the text would be indefinite within certain limits. With this allusion the conjecture becomes fairly safe that *the text of "Father and I went down to camp" originated at or in the vicinity of the "Provincial Camp," Cambridge, Mass., in 1775 or 1776.*

This becomes an unavoidable conclusion, as much as anything can be conclusive in the absence of documentary evidence, if we now turn to the third broadside. (See facsimile Pl. XXIII.) The broadside is adorned by a crude woodcut of five soldiers, which suggests military times, but more suggestive is the fact that the title reads: "The Farmer and his Son's return from a visit to the Camp." Not *a* camp, but *the* camp, and since George Washington is one of the heroes of the text, the article "*the*" can not but refer to the provincial camp. The title of this broadside does not read so smooth and polished as that of "the Yankey's return from Camp," and for this reason, if for no other, we may conjecture that "The Yankey's" is an afterthought, not of the author, but of the folk, and that "The farmer and his son's return, etc.," antedates any version headed "The Yankey's return," indeed that the latter title did not appear in print before the New Englanders had proudly adopted for use amongst themselves this nickname "Yankee." Thus, to sum up, it would appear that the "Yankee Doodle" text "Father and I went down to camp" originated in 1775 or 1776, and that we have in this particular broadside its first and original edition printed presumably shortly after it had been written. Since the fifteen stanzas are identical in the three earliest known editions, they clearly represent an accepted form of the text not only, but a form attributable to a single author, and it would really seem as if the authorship of Edward Bangs in 1775 rather than in 1776, rests on something more than tradition.

An investigation of the "Yankee Doodle" text would not be complete without a brief consideration of the chorus refrain. Yet, strange to say, this appears not to have aroused any interest, though as a matter of fact the refrain may hold incidentally the key to the whole problem of the origin of the tune. As time went by, the refrain was altered and paraphrased to suit the merits and intentions of the occasion, but such versions are of no account historically in this particular connection. It is different, of course, with the text in Farmer & Moore and in the three broadsides analyzed above. No refrain appears in Farmer & Moore, but the three broadsides have:

Yankey doodle, keep it up,  
Yankey doodle dandy,  
Mind the music and the step,  
And with the girls be handy.

Though conjectural analysis seems to force us to date the "Yankee Doodle" text beginning "Father and I went down to camp" either

1775 or 1776, yet this is after all a conjecture and all we positively know is that some of the verses appeared in print as early as 1790 in Tyler's "The Contrast." In this comedy, however, the full chorus refrain is not given, merely "Yankee doodle do, etc.,," but it does appear in a song written by "A Yankee" in commemoration of the adoption of the Federal Constitution by Massachusetts, and this song was reprinted in the Independent Chronicle, Boston, March 6, 1788, from the Pennsylvania Mercury. The ballad "Yankee Doodle's Expedition to Rhode Island" in Rivington's Royal Gazette, October 3, 1778, has merely "Yankee Doodle, etc."

In Dibdin's "The Return of Ulysses to Ithaca" (1780), 1788, and in Andrew Barton's "The Disappointment," 1767, we have "Yankee Doodle, etc." The difference between these sources and Tyler is very slight, but it is also very suggestive, since the Dibdin and Barton refrain may have had the full text as given above, while the presence of the additional *do* in the Tyler refrain makes the use of this text at least doubtful. And this is not at all startling, but has a very obvious explanation if one reads the following references, some of which I owe to the courtesy of Mr. Matthews.

There appeared in the Royal Gazette, November 27, 1779,

A NEW SONG TO AN OLD TUNE.

Written by a Yankee, and sung to the tune of Doodle-doo:

The Frenchman came upon the coast  
Our great allies, and they did boast  
They soon would bang the British host.  
Doodle, Doodle-doo, pa, pa, pa, pa, pa.

It should be borne in mind that this is a British satire, not really a patriotic Yankee song. Moving backwards, we find that in 1772 G. A. Stevens included in his "Songs, Comic and Satirical."

DOODLE DOO.

Tune—*Ev'ry where fine ladies flirting.*

Younglings fond of Female Chases,  
Mount of Hopes in Wedlock's Races,  
Some for Fortune, some for Faces.  
Doodle, Doodle, Doo, etc.

The same refrain was used in "A Royal Love Song, 1770," in "A low Song upon a High Subject," 1769, and as printed in the Gazetteer and New Daily Advertiser, London, January 6, 1776 for—

A new Song, entitled and called, the Best exchange: The old fumblers for young lovers. *To the tune of Doodle, Doodle, Doo.*

Still earlier we have in the St. James Chronicle, February 3–5, 1763:

A new Song. Sung at a certain Theatre Royal in the character of a Frenchman.  
Tune—Doodle, Doodle, doo:

See me just arrived from France-e:  
All de vay from dere I dance-e,  
Vid my compliments I greet ye;  
All de vile I mean to sheet ye.  
Doodle, etc.

And in 1762, September 13 (reprinted in T. Wright's *Caricature History of the Georges*, 1868):

THE CONGRESS: OR, A DEVICE TO LOWER THE LAND TAX, TO THE TUNE OF DOODLE,  
DOODLE, DO.

Here you may see the happy Congress  
All now is done with such a *bon-grace*,  
No English wight can surely grumble,  
Or cry, our treaty-makers fumble.  
Doodle, doodle, do., etc.

The "Caricature History" also contains "The Motion" (p. 128) among verses clearly relating to the Duke of Argyle and to the year 1741, this one:

Who de dat de box to sit on?  
'Tis John, the hero of North Briton,  
Who, out of place, does place-men spit on,  
Doodle, etc.

We are carried far into the seventeenth century by Edw. Ravenscroft's comedy after the Italian manner "Scaramouch a philosopher, Harlequin a School-boy," 1677. In the fifth act, first scene Harlequin sings "ridiculously" "Tricola, tracola" mixed with "Doodle-doodle-doo," and "Toodle-doodle-doo."

In "the Witch of Edmonston" by William Rowley, Thomas Dekker, John Ford, etc., 1658, Act IV, scene 1, occurs this interesting passage:

*Enter Anne Ratcliff mad.*

*Ratc.* Oh my Ribs are made of a payned Hose, and they break. There's a Lancashire hornpipe in my throat: hark how it tickles it, with Doodle, Doodle, Doodle, Doodle.

And finally in Middleton's & Rowley's "The Spanish Gipsy," 1653 (acted 1623 or 1624), Sancho sings a line with Doodle-doo.

What do these references prove? First, that a chorus refrain with "Doodle-doodle, do" existed as early as the middle of the seventeenth century. In America the word "Yankee" was grafted on to this not later than 1767 (Barton's *Disappointment*), and the form of "Yankee Doodle do" was used as late as 1787 or 1790 (*Tyler's Contrast*). If the internal and other evidence submitted led to the conclusion that the "Father and I" text originated 1775 or 1776, then the conjecture is fairly safe that the refrain "Yankee Doodle keep it up" is of the same date. This conclusion in turn would lead to the other that in Barton's "Disappointment" the older refrain "Yankee Doodle-doodle do" was used. But the references would appear to establish a very much more important point, namely, the existence of a tune called "Doodle, doodle, do" certainly as early as 1762 and probably as early as the seventeenth century. Indeed, we are almost compelled to assume that this tune was known as a *Lancashire* hornpipe as early

as 1658. Since the texts mentioned lend themselves more or less smoothly to our "Yankee Doodle" melody, the latter may be suspected to be identical with the "Doodle, doo" tune, but it would not necessarily follow that words were sung to it except as chorus refrain. In 1772 Stevens' "Doodle Doo" was to be sung to the tune of "Ev'ry where fine ladies flirting." I have not yet traced a song with these first words, but it will be noticed that they lend themselves smoothly to the "Yankee Doodle" melody. This suggests the query: Were these perhaps the original words that went with the melody or were they grafted on the melody later, or do they, after all, represent a different melody? I am not in a position to give any answer to these questions which might solve the problem of "Yankee Doodle" in a manner heretofore hardly suspected. However, the existence of a "Doodle, doo" air before 1750 and possibly identical with the "Yankee Doodle" air has become so probable that this probability obliges the historian to move with caution and skepticism when examining the theories of the origin of "Yankee Doodle" not yet analyzed, namely, the Doctor Shuckburgh theory in Farmer and Moore's Collections, 1824, and the "All the way to Galway" theory of Mr. Grattan Flood, 1905.<sup>a</sup>

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<sup>a</sup> This book was in proof sheets when at last Mr. Frank Kidson, having at first almost denied the existence of such a tune, was able to send the author the following under date of Leeds, May 11, 1909:

[ "Doodle Doo. No. 175, p. 88, Wright's 200 Choice Country Dances, vol. 2d, ca. 1750.]

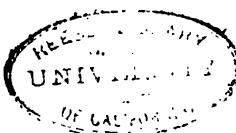


In explanation Mr. Kidson, to whom again thanks are due for his professional courtesy, writes:

"I have great pleasure in sending you the Doodle Doo which you will see practically fits the words given in G. A. Steven's "Songs Comic and Satirical," Oxford, 1772, p. 134, song 72.

I have copied the tune from a country dance book without title, but which I know for a *certainty* to be the second volume of Wright's 200 Country Dances, a later edition issued by John Johnson of Cheapeide about 1750. Particulars are given in my British Music Publishers. . . Dan Wright first issued his two volumes, and then Johnson continued with his 3, 4, 5, & 6th, reprinting the 1st and 2d from his old plates with new plates substituted for certain cases. The

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The latter does not call for a lengthy discussion, as the supposedly Irish origin of "Yankee Doodle" (see p. 106) is based simply on two assertions: First, that its structure is "decidedly Irish;" second, that it is identical with the Irish tune of "All the way to Galway" as it appears in a manuscript dated 1750, the authority of which Mr. Grattan Flood says to be beyond question.

Since the structure of the melody has been claimed with equal enthusiasm as decidedly Hessian, Hungarian, Scotch, English, etc.—indeed, in his letter quoted above, Mr. D. F. Scheurleer called my attention to the similarity of "Yankee Doodle" with the tunes of the itinerant Savoyards—Mr. Grattan Flood's manifestly sincere assertion can not be accepted without very careful proof as "intrinsic evidence." Mr. Grattan Flood's other assertion is somewhat strengthened by facts not mentioned in his interesting article. It appears from Sargent's "History of an expedition against Fort Du Quesne in 1755" (Philadelphia, 1855) that when Braddock's ill-fated campaign was being prepared drafts were made in Ireland "from the second battalion of the Royals, at Galway," besides from other Irish regiments. Furthermore, the "Orders for Foreign Service," quoted in Knox's "Historical Journal of the Campaigns in North America for the years 1757, 1758, 1759 and 1760," leave no doubt that Major-General Kennedy's regiment stationed at Galway, the Fifty-fifth Regiment stationed at Galway and two other Irish regiments, the First or Royal Regiment of Foot and the Seventeenth Regiment of Foot, received marching orders in February. In this connection it is also noteworthy that in 1758 the Fifty-fifth Regiment participated in General Abercrombie's unlucky Lake expedition (Ticonderoga!), the First and the Seventeenth regiments in General Amherst's siege of Louisburgh, whereas Kennedy's Forty-third Regiment all through 1758 was condemned to idleness in Nova Scotia. However these facts may fit into the historical argument, it is known that of the 8,000 regulars voted by Parliament in 1757 for reenforce-

old plates have the moons and half moons (as in the Dancing master), but the new plates have them not. *Doodle Doo* is from a new plate issued about 1750 . . .

I have some startling theories about Yankee Doodle name and tune, and one is that the first part is older than the 2d part. . . ."

It is clear that our Yankee Doodle and this Doodle Doo are not identical or even similar and that the several Yankee Doodle texts can not have been sung to this Doodle Doo. It is equally clear that the Doodle Doo texts quoted on p. 143 fit our Yankee Doodle well, but this Doodle Doo very poorly, if at all. Here, then, is a new puzzle and a new obstacle in the path that seemed to lead easily out of the whole Yankee Doodle labyrinth. Personally, I still adhere to the belief that there must have been kinship between Yankee Doodle and Doodle Doo, and I am keenly interested in Mr. Kidson's startling theories in the desperate hope that he at last may be able to give a satisfactory solution of the Yankee Doodle puzzle.

ments, fully one-half were Irish. If then "Yankee Doodle" is of Irish origin and identical with "All the way to Galway," it is clear how this influx of Irish soldiers may have helped to spread the air in America, even had it not been known previously to the Irish then settled in America. But, has Mr. Grattan Flood succeeded in proving the identity, without which his theory of the Irish origin, of course, collapses? On pages 123-125 of this report some of the early printed and manuscript versions of "Yankee Doodle" are quoted, and here are two versions of "All the way to Galway" as given by Mr. Grattan Flood in his article:

## ALL THE WAY TO GALWAY

Ms. 1750



## ALL THE WAY TO GALWAY

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To these may be added for more comprehensive comparison a manuscript version (ca. 1820) in possession of Mr. Frank Kidson:



and the version in Capt. Francis O'Neill's "Dance Music of Ireland" (Chicago, 1907, p. 172):



If Mr. Grattan Flood says that the C natural in the first half of "All the way to Galway," the so-called flat seventh, is unmistakably Irish, then the first half of "Yankee Doodle" is just as unmistakably not Irish. Though the eye may detect a similarity between the two first parts, to the musical ear they sound fundamentally unlike. Only the first, third, and fifth bars of the eight in the 1750 version of "All the way to Galway" could possibly be pressed into service for Mr. Grattan Flood's theory, which he bases, it should be kept in mind, on a comparison between Aird's "Yankee Doodle" of 1782 and a 1750 manuscript version of "All the way to Galway." This comparison becomes still more futile if the two second halves be contrasted. Only one bar, the last, is identical, and that bar, I trust, may be found in a million compositions. How weak the whole theory appears convincingly if we figuratively try to cover one tune with the other and apply the numerical test of identity: "All the way to Galway" has 57 notes, "Yankee Doodle" 52. *Only 18 notes are identical!*

It is easily seen how Mr. Grattan Flood came to embrace the Irish theory. There is an obvious wholesale similarity in melodic structure, if considerations of key be discarded, between the second halves of the earliest "All the way to Galway" and *some* of the "Yankee Doodle" versions—for instance, those of Willig (p. 122) and Sousa (p. 123). Approximate similarity, not approximate identity! This similarity in melodic patterns belongs to the chapter on "Thematic coincidences and common property" in the history of music. It is a fascinating but wholly unreliable and dangerous chapter. In the case of "Yankee Doodle" the wholesale similarity, as it was called above, may be admitted, but the moment deductions of identity are to be drawn from this similarity we are perfectly justified in claiming an equal share of similarity between "Yankee Doodle" and the Scotch air "Will ye go to Sheriff muir" as given, for instance, in Hogg's "Jacobite Relics" (1819, V. I, p. 149):



or, as in Gow's Third Repository (ca. 1806):



This version I owe to the courtesy of Mr. Frank Kidson, as also the much more important information that the "Sheriff Muir" air appears in Oswald's "Caledonian Pocket Companion" (Book 6, circa 1750-1760). Without this discovery it would merely be possible to state that the text of the air appears in Semple's "Poems and Songs of Robert Tannahill" (1876), among the "Unedited and unpublished pieces" (p. 354) of the poet (1774-1810), as doubtful, and that Hogg says "The air has long been popular." With Mr. Kidson's find, we would be able to offset the Irish claim for "All the Way to Galway" by a Scotch claim for "Will ye go to Sheriff Muir," since the proximity of the dates of first known appearance of both tunes would forbid to derive for the sake of argument "Will ye go to Sheriff Muir" and thus again incidentally "Yankee Doodle" from "All the Way to Galway." Should it be insisted that the Irish tune dates "from about the first quarter of the 18th century," as Mr. Grattan Flood suspects under date of July 23, 1908, equal emphasis might be laid on the probability that Oswald did not print a new tune, but a popular, that is, a fairly old one, and that there might be some connection between it and the battle of Sheriffmuir, 1715.

The probabilities are that neither "All the Way to Galway" nor "Will ye go Sheriffmuir" contributed anything to "Yankee Doodle." On the other hand, if mere similarity is to decide the origin of "Yankee Doodle," and if the latter's hypothetical prototype, the tune "Doodle, doodle, doo" (or perhaps "Everywhere fine ladies flirting") should be found to antedate "All the Way to Galway," what would prevent the argument that "All the Way to Galway" borrowed its better half from "Yankee Doodle" instead of *vice versa?* However, not to let my personal opinion enter too much into this report, it should be noted that Mr. Grattan Flood's theory is by no means accepted by other eminent authorities. For instance, Mr. Frank Kidson wrote me under date of August 12, 1908, this sweeping statement:

"All the Way to Galway" is not really like Yankee Doodle, and cannot be proved to be earlier in date even if it was like it.

And Captain Francis O'Neill under date of July 14, 1908, wrote:

I agree with you in noting the dissimilarity of the first parts of the tunes under consideration, the style and composition of first part of Yankee Doodle is more modern. I must admit, no Irish tune, March or Air that I can remember, unmistakably resembles the first part of Yankee Doodle and I have an excellent memory in such matters.

The substance of the rather novelistic account (see pp. 96-97) which under the title of "Origin of Yankee Doodle" appeared in Farmer and Moore's Collections, 1824, is, to recapitulate, this:

In 1755 Doctor Shuckburg[!], a physician attached to the staff of General Abercrombie's army, encamped a little south of Albany, N. Y., on the ground "now" belonging to John I. Van Rensselaer, esq., "*to please brother Jonathan composed a tune*" and with much gravity recommended it to the officers as one of the most celebrated airs of martial music. The provincial troops, whose march, accoutrements, arrangement, the narrator with great glee compares to that of Sir John Falstaff's ragged regiment, took the bait, and in a few days nothing was heard in the provincial camp but the air of *Yankee Doodle*.

By utilizing the data printed in the "Historical Magazine," in O'Callaghan's New York Colonial Documents, in the "Collections of the New York Historical Society," in the old British Army Lists, and combining them with the information contained in transcripts for the Library of Congress from the "Sir William Johnson Manuscripts of Letters, and passages relating to Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, 1745-1773," his life may be traced with sufficient clearness for the present purpose.

It is a curious coincidence that two Richard Shuckburghs appear about this time in the British army lists, but the Richard Shuckburgh whose commission in the army dates from March 18, 1755, who in December of the same year became a lieutenant in the First Regiment of Foot Guards, and in 1768 a captain, can not possibly be connected with "Yankee Doodle" in preference to the Dr. Richard Shuckburgh for the simple reason that this regiment, since 1815 commonly known as the Grenadier Guards, did not come to America before 1776. Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, on the other hand, was prospecting with a Captain Borrow as early as 1735 on the Delaware, and he held a commission as surgeon in the "Four Independent Companies of Foot at New York" since June 25, 1737. About 1748 Doctor Shuckburgh began to take a lively interest in the Indians, and as early as 1751 he speaks of his ambition to become secretary of Indian affairs under Sir William Johnson, with whom he was on terms of friendship. When this position became vacant through the death of Captain Wraxall in July, 1759, Sir William immediately appointed Dr. Shuckburgh to this office for which he appears to have

been eminently qualified, having in the words of Sir William Johnson, March 24, 1760, "recorded all my proceedings with the several nations of Indians since the opening of the last campaign," 1759. Unfortunately Sir William delayed the report of his action and recommendation to the board of trade. Consequently, when his letter finally reached London, a Mr. Marsh, in 1761, had already been selected as Wraxall's successor. If it was bad enough for Shuckburgh to be "elbowed out" of a position, as he put it, it was more unfortunate that the rules forbade him to hold two offices. In the firm expectation that his secretaryship would become permanent, he had in 1761 resigned his commission as surgeon in the Independent Companies, and of course now found himself without any position. His disappointment at these developments gives the keynote to his correspondence of the next few years, though on January 10, 1763, he is able to send Sir William the good news:

I have compleated my Purchase with the Surgeon of the 17th Regt. and received my Commission from the General the 29th ult.

These facts explain why Shuckburgh suddenly disappears from the British army lists (carefully extracted for me by Mr. Lydenburg of the N. Y. Public Library), and just as suddenly reappears in 1764 as surgeon of the Seventeenth Regiment of Foot, stationed since 1758 in America. The most miserable year of his life Shuckburgh spent in 1765 at the military post of Detroit, separated for a full year from his family and for six months shut off from all communication. When he returned to New York at the end of 1765, the military service had lost its attraction for him, and he probably did not view the death of Mr. Marsh in the same year with much regret, since now the secretaryship of Indian affairs was again within reach. Sir William Johnson lost no time in repeating his former recommendation, but not until 1767 did Shuckburgh receive the place. This appointment explains why not Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, but a Thomas White, appears as surgeon in the 17th regiment from May 9, 1768, on.

Shuckburgh was not to enjoy his new office for many years. On December 26, 1772, Sir William Johnson wrote of him to the Earl of Dartmouth as "aged and of late very infirm," and on August 26, 1773, the New York Gazetteer printed this obituary notice:

Died, at Schenectady, last Monday, Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, a gentleman of very genteel family, and of infinite jest and humour.

Sir William Johnson was greatly shocked by this news, and from Johnson Hall, September 30, 1773, wrote to Mrs. Shuckburgh to assure her of his concern at her loss and of his great friendship for her husband. That he should, in the same letter, have called her

attention to the fact that her husband had borrowed \$100 from him shortly before his death was at least not tactful, and the fact is mentioned here merely to show that Shuckburgh, though quite a property holder in the colony, was frequently in financial trouble. However, he had at least the satisfaction of seeing his daughter well married to a British officer.

The obituary notice mentions Shuckburgh's "infinite jest and humour." His correspondence with Sir William Johnson would not permit this inference. It is of a serious turn and mainly expressive of his disappointment at not having received the secretaryship of Indian affairs. Yet one or two letters contain a few humorous remarks, and that Shuckburgh was conscious of his humorous talents appears from a letter to Sir William Johnson under date of April 18, 1763:

I am apt to say somewhat like Scarron, when he was dying, that I may have made more People laugh in my lifetime in this World of America than will cry at my departure out of it . . .

When Dr. Richard Shuckburgh was born I am unable to tell, but it is fairly safe to conjecture that he was born in England about 1705. That Shuckburgh is a well-known Warwickshire name would not be conclusive, since there exist also Shuckburghs from Limerick, Ireland, but Sir William Johnson, in 1752, made some complimentary remarks to "Mr. Shuckburgh, stationer, in London," about his brother, the doctor. The latter, in one of his letters, speaks about his friends in England, and, indeed, in 1767 spends a few months in London. In view of this circumstantial evidence, O'Callaghan's statement in his *New York Colonial Documents* (vol. 8, p. 244, footnote) that Shuckburgh was of German origin may safely be said to be incorrect.

Farmer and Moore reprinted their article on the origin of *Yankee Doodle* from "an old file of the *Albany Statesman*, edited by N. H. Carter, Esq." Such a paper never existed. The facts are these: The "*Albany Register*" ran from 1788 to 1819, or the first months of 1820. In 1819, Nathaniel Hazeltine Carter had become the editor, and he became the sole proprietor of the *Albany Register* early in 1820. He changed its name into the *New York Statesman* for reasons given in the first issue, May 16, 1820. Since the *New York Statesman* was practically a continuation of the *Albany Register* some people, exactly as happens to-day in libraries in similar cases, would carelessly speak of the *Albany Statesman*, meaning either the *Albany Register* or the *New York Statesman* (printed at Albany). Farmer and Moore took their article from an *old* file of the "*Albany Statesman*," and the word *old* would suggest the *Albany Register* rather than the *New York Statesman*. The same account, as Mr. Matthews

discovered, appeared in H. Niles's "Principles and Acts of the Revolution in America" (1822, p. 372), and there, too, the article was attributed to the "Albany Statesman." This would prove nothing, since the incorrect term "Albany Statesman" might have been the current one for the then defunct Albany Register, but in Niles's Register, November 11, 1826, the same story is actually attributed to the New York Statesman. This would suggest the inference that the story was printed at Albany in the New York Statesman between 1820 and 1822, but as a matter of fact the copy at the Library of Congress proves that the paper was not published between May, 1820, and end of November, 1821, and by 1822 the offices of the New York Statesman had been removed to New York City. Therefore, we have every reason to prefer the older Albany Register as source of the story. So did Mary L. D. Ferris in her article on "Our National Songs," New England Magazine, 1890 (vol 2, p. 483), but her statement that N. H. Carter himself wrote the article in 1797 for the "Albany Statesman" is woefully absurd, since Carter (1787-1830!) was then only 10 years of age. Furthermore, Mr. Frank L. Tolman, the reference librarian of the New York State Library, had the Albany Register for 1797 examined and reexamined for me without finding any article on the origin of Yankee Doodle. Finally, internal evidence absolutely forbids to date the article in question so early, because the author of the article distinctly writes of a "lapse of sixty years" since 1755, which would fix the date of publication of the article about 1815, and incidentally its source as the Albany Register. At any rate, two generations had passed before the tradition that Doctor Shuckburgh "composed the tune" of "Yankee Doodle" found its way into print. If such a tradition is to be accepted as history, its details must be above suspicion. The practical joke of composing a tune and then recommending it gravely as one of the most celebrated martial airs is at least plausible, since even great composers—for instance, Hector Berlioz—are known to have played such jokes on the unsuspecting. It is not plausible, however, that Shuckburgh would have blunted the point of his joke by calling the tune "Yankee Doodle." This name it can only have received after the novelty of the subterfuge had worn off, and the puzzle is, why just "Yankee Doodle?" Such impossibilities in the story, as General Amherst's presence at Albany in 1755 instead of 1758, may be here disregarded as pardonable historical inaccuracies, but the *sine qua non* is the presence of Dr. Richard Shuckburgh at Albany, N. Y., in the summer of 1755 on the Van Rensselaer estate. Now, it is a matter of history that in that year Doctor Shuckburgh was surgeon in the "Four Independent Companies of Foot" at New York, and it is also a matter of easily verified history (see f. i., Sargent's "History

of an expedition against Fort Duquesne," Philadelphia, 1855) that at least two of these companies were ordered by Governor Dinwiddie in 1754 from New York to garrison the fort at Wills Creek, Va., where they still were in 1755, and exactly these troops George Washington had been so anxiously expecting. When the preparations for General Braddock's ill-fated expedition against Fort Duquesne had been completed, these companies, and more specifically Capt. Horatio Gates's company, to which Shuckburgh was attached as surgeon, participated in the campaign, and after Braddock's famous defeat, July 9, 1755, did not until well into October, 1755, reach the vicinity of Albany on their retreat. Now, it is of course possible that Shuckburgh was detailed to Albany and that only Alexander Colhoun, the other surgeon of the independents, was in the wilderness of Virginia in 1755, hundreds of miles away from Albany, but this possibility is far-fetched, and the burden of proof is on him who asserts Doctor Shuckburgh to have been at Albany in the summer of 1755. It may be well to add here that the only positive reference to Shuckburgh's whereabouts in 1755 is contained in one of his letters written from New York on November 27, 1755, to Sir William Johnson about the critical condition of Baron Dieskau, who had been taken prisoner by Johnson at the battle of Lake George.

Doctor Shuckburgh's case as *composer* of "Yankee Doodle" at Albany, N. Y., in the summer of 1755 is further weakened by the tradition in the very family on whose estate he is reported to have exercised his musical imagination. A granddaughter of Gen. Robert Van Rensselaer wrote to Mr. Albert Matthews (see Elson's *National Music of America*, p. 140):

The story of "Yankee Doodle" is an authentic tradition in my family. My grandfather, Brig. Gen. Robert Van Rensselaer, born in the Green Bush Manor House, was a boy of seventeen at the time when Doctor Shackbergh, the *writer of the verses*, and General Abercrombie were guests of his father, Col. Johannes Van Rensselaer, in June 1758.

We have a picture of the old well, with the high stone curb and well-sweep, which has always been associated with the lines written while the British surgeon sat upon the curb . . .

The contradiction between this tradition, which leaves us in the dark as to which verses are meant, and the account in Farmer & Moore is striking, and the confusion increases by a quotation of what a J. F. said in a note on Mrs. Volkert P. Douw in the *Magazine of American History*, 1884, v. 11, p. 176:

. . . It was on the farm of the Douw family that the English army, and the sixteen Colonial regiments, were encamped in 1755, under General Abercrombie, previous to the attack on Fort Ticonderoga in the French and Indian war. And it was at this historical spot where "Yankee Doodle" was composed by Dr. Shackleford, and sung in derision of the four Connecticut regiments, under the command of Col. Thomas Fitch, of Connecticut . . .

This belated tradition has been quoted merely as a matter of record. It is clumsily incorrect, because General Abercrombie's ill-advised attack on Fort Ticonderoga did not take place until 1758, because the general did not set foot on American soil until 1756, etc., etc. On the other hand, the Van Rensselaer tradition deserves serious attention, as General Abercrombie actually was at and near Albany in 1758 supervising the preparations for the attack on Fort Ticonderoga, as Doctor Shuckburgh had no known reason for being hundreds of miles away from Albany, and as it is much more plausible that a witty army surgeon from New York should have written humorous "Yankee Doodle" verses to an existing familiar and therefore effective tune, than to have composed such a tune himself.

Should the music of the old English tune "Doodle, doodle, doo" be discovered and found to be identical with our "Yankee Doodle," we might conjecture that the old tune, like so many other old English tunes, was well known in the colonies, and we might then feel inclined not to doubt the Van Rensselaer tradition that Dr. Richard Shuckburgh, in June, 1758, used this tune as an understructure for a humorous ballad on the Yankees. But the main problem would still remain unsolved, What verses did he write? Certainly not the verses, "Father and I went down to camp," certainly not the "Yankee Doodle came to town" verses with "Macaroni," "Madam Hancock," "John Hancock," certainly not any verses that allude to General Amherst's victory at Cape Breton on July 26, 1758, certainly not the "Doctor Warren" verse, and most assuredly not any verse full of insulting ill-humored satire against Americans or even New Englanders, since he would have a difficult task indeed who attempted to falsify history by asserting that about 1758 ill feeling beyond the proverbial, but harmless jealousy between regulars and militia, existed among the British and American troops fighting a common foe. These considerations narrow the possibilities of the Shuckburgh's authorship down either to verses unknown to us or to such "neutral" ones as—

Brother Ephraim sold his cow  
And bought him a Commission  
And then he went to Canada  
To fight for the Nation.  
But when Ephraim he came home  
He prov'd an arrant coward,  
He wou'dn't fight the Frenchmen there,  
For fear of being devour'd.

But these belong to "Yankee Doodle, or (as now christened by the Saints of New England) the Lexington March," and were not published until anywhere from 1777 to 1799, and surely will be admitted to bear the earmarks of an origin later, at any rate, than June, 1758,

and probably after 1770 rather than before. Thus, to sum up, Dr. Richard Shuckburgh's connection with "Yankee Doodle" becomes doubtful again, and indeed the origin of "Yankee Doodle" remains as mysterious as ever, unless it be deemed a positive result to have eliminated definitely almost every theory thus far advanced and thus by the process of elimination to have paved the way for an eventual solution of the puzzle.

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<sup>a</sup> These notes on the printed Yankee Doodle literature would be incomplete without reference to the important but unfortunately unprinted essays by Mr. George H. Moore and Mr. Albert Matthews mentioned throughout these pages.



[ 336 ]

## SONG CLXVII.

To Anacreon, in heav'n, where he sat in full glee,  
 a few sons of harmony sent a pe - ti - tion, that he  
 their in-spir-er and patron would be; when this  
 answer ar-riv'd from the jolly old Grecian—“ Voice,  
 fiddle, and flute, no longer be mute, I'll lend  
 you my name and inspire you to boot; and, besides,  
 I'll instruct you like me to in - twine the myrtle of  
 Venus

[ 337 ]

tr. Chor.

Venus with Bacchus's vine, and, besides, I'll

instruct you like me to intwine the myrtle of Venus

with Bacchus's vine.

The news through Olympus immediately flew;  
 When old Thunder pretended to give himself airs—  
 " If these mortals are suffer'd their schemes to pursue,  
 " The devil a goddess will stay above stairs.  
 " Hark! already they cry,  
 " In transports of joy,  
 " Away to the sons of Anacreon we'll fly,  
 " And there, with good fellows, we'll learn to intwine  
 " The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.  
 " The yellow-hair'd God and his nine lusty maids,  
 " From Helicon's banks will incontinent flee,  
 " Idals will boast but of tenantless shades,  
 " And the bi-forked hill a mere desert will be.  
 " My thunder, no fear on't,  
 " Shall soon do its errand,  
 " And, dam'me! I'll swinge the ringleaders, I warrant,  
 " I'll trim the young dogs, for thus daring to twine.  
 " The myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's vine.

g Apollo





The ANACREON TICK

Pia  
For.  
Where he sat in full glee where  
Where he sat in full glee where  
To A - nacreon in Heav'n - - - where  
few Sons of har - mony sent a  
few Sons of har - mony a few Sons of har - mony sent a  
a few Sons of har - mony sent a  
patron would be when this answer ar - riv'd this answer arriv'd  
patron would be this answer arriv'd  
patron would be

PLATE II.—FROM JOHN STAFFORD SMITH'S "F

## SONG

harmonized by the Author

53

*Pia*

set in full glee a few Sons of har - mony a

*Pia*

set in full glee a

set in full glee

*Pia*

titon and patron would be and

*Pia*

titon and patron would be and

*Pia*

titon that he their in - spi - rer and

*Fon*

this answer ar - riv'd from the jolly old Grecian

*Fon*

from the jolly old Grecian

*Pia*

this answer ar - riv'd from the jolly old Grecian

TH BOOK OF CANZONETS," LONDON, CA. 1785.





THE AMERICAN

The musical score consists of four staves of music. The top two staves are in common time, featuring a soprano and alto vocal line. The bottom two staves are in common time, featuring a basso and tenor vocal line. The lyrics are integrated into the music, appearing below the basso staff.

Ye sons of Co-lum-bia, who bravely  
have sought, For those rights, which unstain'd from

PLATE III.—PAINE'S "AMERICAN SONG."

## MUSICAL MISCELLANY.

273

your Sires had de-scend-ed, May you

long taste the blessings, your valour has

bought, And your sons reap the foil, which you

fathers defended, Mid the reign of









## 26

Hard, hard is my fate! oh, how galling my chain!  
 My life's steer'd by misery's chart—  
 And 'tho 'gainst my tyrants I scorn to complain,  
 Tears gush forth to ease my sad heart :  
 I disdain e'en to shrink, tho' I feel the sharp lash ;  
 Yet my breast bleeds for her I adore :  
 While round me the unfeeling billows will dash,  
 I sigh!—and still tug at the oar.

How fortune deceives!—I had pleasure in tow,  
 The port where she dwelt we'd in view ;  
 But the wish'd nuptial morn was o'erclouded with  
 And, dear Anne, I hurried from you. [woe,  
 Our shallop was boarded, and I borne away,  
 To behold my lov'd Anne no more !  
 But dispair wastes my spirits, my form feels decay—  
 He sigh'd—and expir'd at the oar!

## ANACREON IN HEAVEN.



To Anacreon in Heav'n where he sat in ful  
 glee, A few sons of harmony sent a petition,

PLATE IV.—FROM "BALTIMORE"

27

That he their inspirer and patron would be,

 The musical score consists of five staves of music in common time, featuring a soprano vocal line with piano accompaniment. The vocal line follows the lyrics throughout the page.

when this answer arriv'd from the jolly old Grecian:

Voice fiddle an! flute no longer be mute, I'll

lend you my name and inspire you to boot;

And besides I'll instruct you like n<sup>o</sup> to eat wine.

The Myrtle of Venus with Bacchus's Vine

The news through Olympus immediately flew,

When old Thunder prentended to give himself  
airs;





O say can you see by the dawn's early light  
 What so proudly we hail'd at the twilight's last gleaming,  
 Whose broad stripes and bright stars through the clouds of the night,  
 O'er the ramparts we watch'd were so gallantly streaming?  
 And the rocket's red glare - the bomb bursting in air  
 Gave proof through the night that our flag was still there  
 O say does that star-spangled banner yet wave  
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave? —

On that shore dimly seen through the mists of the deep,  
 Where the foe's haughty host in dead silence reposes,  
 What is that which the breeze, o'er the towering steep  
 As it fitfully blows, half conceals, half discloses?  
 Now it catches the gleam - of the morning's first beam  
 In full glory reflected, now shines in the stream,  
 'Tis the Star-spangled banner - O long may it wave  
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave!

And where are the foes that so vauntingly swore  
 That the land of war & the battle's confusion  
 A home and a Country should leave us no more?  
 Their blood has wash'd out their foul footstep's pollution.  
 No refuge could save - the hireling & slave  
 From the terror of flight, or the gloom of the grave,  
 And the Star-spangled banner in triumph doth wave  
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

O thus be it ever! when freemen shall stand  
 Between their loved homes & the war's desolation.  
 Blest with victory & peace, may the heav'n-rescued land  
 Praise the power that hath made and preserved us a nation.  
 Then conquer we must — when our cause it is just  
 And this be our motto — in God is our trust —  
 And the star-spangled banner in triumph shall wave  
 O'er the land of the free & the home of the brave.

F. Key

To Gen. Keim.





O'er come you to us we have caught  
 What so hardly we had) at the last gasp and screaming  
 When broad shapes and bright stars through the clouds of the night  
 O'er the main fast we watch'd) were so suddenly starting  
 And the market end gone - the loud barking we never  
 Heard though the night had only won't down  
 O say, does that star bright bower yet wave  
 For the hand of the fair wife the bower? —

O'er that shore singly seen through the mist of the deep.  
 When the fire - glowing hot - beat down upon  
 His side which he sat on the trucking steep  
 As it giddily down half unwillingly left his land;  
 None it calmed the flame - of the morning's pitch pine  
 He pull'd from off his head more than in the stream,  
 With slow hand however - O long may it wave  
 O'er the bower of the fair wife the bower  
 And when we before that morning's bower

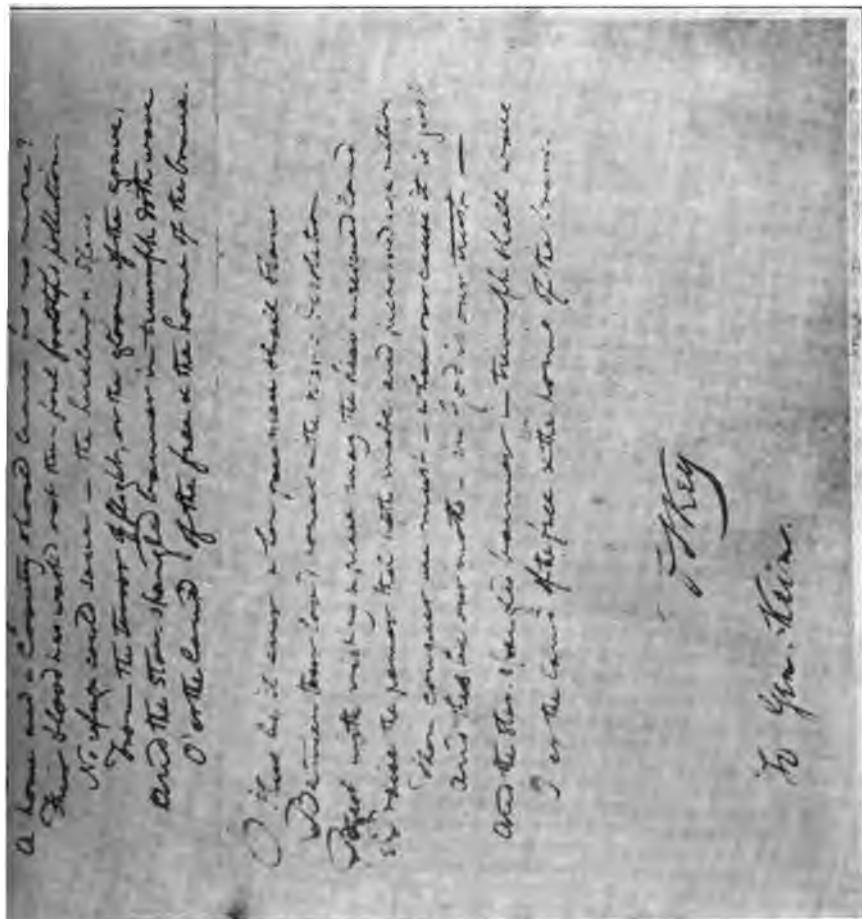


PLATE VII.—MR. DOBBIN'S FACSIMILE OF THE KEIM AUTOGRAPH.





That Columbia - mighty land,  
 Hail ye heroes - braving born land,  
 Let your soul and blood in Freedom's cause,  
 Let your soul and blood in Freedom's cause,  
 And when the storm of war was done,  
 Enjoy'd the peace, war labor won -  
 Let Freedom be our trust,  
 Your courage stout at cost;  
 War grateful for thy brave,  
 Let it stand next in cities -  
 From brother to brother,  
 Let this bound our liberty,  
 Is a land of brotherhood,  
 Free and safe by an inheritance

*Memorial, about these since more.*

Behold your rights, ye贱民，  
 Not no man dare with unioed hand,  
 Will no man fear with conjoined hand,  
 Breaketh stones, where he and his,  
 Of hot and hard, the will cannot budge.  
 While offering lace; lance and last,  
 He breaketh all, where in many burst,  
 That a soft and butter soft, breaketh  
 But even when of broad apparel.  
 Fair, comely, blithe, blithe,  
 Fair, comely, blithe, blithe,  
 Hallowing comely comely.  
 At a turn of bottom round,  
 lace and soft, comely, blithe -

Saxon

PLATE VIIa.—"HAIL COLUMBIA" AUTOGRAPH IN POSSESSION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.





sound, sound, blitting of fame,  
 set Washington's great name,  
 Ring through the world with loud applause,  
 Ring through the world with loud applause;  
 let every Climate be freedom dear,  
 listen with a joyful ear;  
 With equal strife, with golden power,  
 He governs in his peaceful hour  
 Of boundless aim; expands wide scope,  
 The happiest times of interest, peace.  
 Form; united, let us - day,  
 Bellying round our liberty,  
 As a land of shooting fowls;  
 Ease and safety unshaken -

waves in ocean, are now common,  
 Once more to sweep his country lands,  
 He rock on which the storm will beat,  
 He rock on which the storm will beat;  
 But amid the waves, firm and true,  
 His hopes are fixed on Heaven and you  
 When hope was sinking in dismay,  
 And Jesus other's Columbia's day,  
 His steady mind, poor changed free,  
Endeav'rs on Death or Liberty -  
 "I'm, anchor'd, let us be,  
 Rallying round our liberty;  
 As a band of brothers form,  
 Second safety we shall find" -

PLATE VIIIIB.—"HAIL COLUMBIA" AUTOGRAPH IN POSSESSION OF THE PENNSYLVANIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.





# THE PRESIDENT'S MARCH

## A new FEDERAL Song.

Published by G. Willis, Market Street, No. 145, Philadelphia.

Hail! Columbia's happy land, hail! ye heroes born-born band who fought and bled in freedom's  
cause, who fought and bled in freedom's cause and when the storm of war was gone enjoyed the peace our  
valor won set Independence by your boat ever mindful what it cost ever grateful  
for the prize let his Altar reach the skies Firm united let us be railing  
round our Liberty as a band of brothers joined close and safely we shall find

Immortal Patriots rise once more  
Defend your rights defend your shore  
Let no rude foe with impious hand  
Let no rude foe with impious hand  
Invade the shrine where sacred lies  
Of toil and blood the well earned prize  
While offering peace sincere and just  
In heavn we place a manly trust  
That truth and justice will prevail  
And every scheme of bondage fail  
Firm united etc.

sound found the trump of fame  
Let Washingtons great name  
Ring thro the world with loud applause  
Ring thro the world with loud applause  
Let every clime to Freedom dear  
Listen with a joyful ear  
With equal skill with godlike powr  
He governs in the fearful hour  
Of horrid war or guides with ease  
The happier times of honest peace  
Firm united etc.

Behold the chief who now doth stand  
 Once more to serve his Country stands  
 The rock on which the storm will beat  
 The rock on which the storm will beat  
 But stand in virtue firm and true  
 His hopes are fixed on heaven and you  
 When glooms obscured Columbia's day  
 His steady mind from changes free  
 Resolved on Death or Liberty Firm united we

## YANKEE DOODLE

Columbians all the present hour as Brothers should unite us Union at home's the only way to make our  
 nation right us Yankee doodle guard your coat yankee doodle dandy fear not then nor boast yankee doodle  
 dandy

The only way to keep off war,  
 And guard'gainst persecution,  
 Is always to be well prepar'd  
 With hearts of resolution  
 Yankee doodle let's unite,  
 Yankee doodle dandy,  
 As patriots still maintain our right,  
 Yankee doodle dandy,

A band of brothers let us be;  
 While Adams guides the nation;  
 And with our dear bought freedom guard,  
 In every situation.  
 Yankee doodle guard your coat,  
 Yankee doodle dandy.  
 Fear not then nor threat nor boast,  
 Yankee doodle dandy.

Great Washington who led us on,  
 And Liberty effected,  
 Shall see well die, or else be free  
 We will not be subjected.  
 Yankee Doodle, guard your coat,  
 Yankee Doodle Dandy  
 Fear not then nor threat nor boast,  
 Yankee Doodle Dandy

May soon the wind for our arrive,  
 When Peace shall rule the nation  
 And Commerce free from terrors, prove  
 Mankind are all relations.  
 Then Yankee Doodle be divine  
 Yankee Doodle Dandy  
 Beneath the pig tree and the vine,  
 Sing, Yankee Doodle Dandy.



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TII

# PRESIDEN

Flauto 1.<sup>mo</sup>

Flauto 2.<sup>do</sup>

PLATE XI.—FROM SHAW AND C

3

S MARCH

The musical score consists of ten staves of music. The first staff begins with a treble clef, a common time signature, and a key signature of one sharp. It features a fermata over the eighth note of the first measure. Subsequent staves switch between various key signatures (one sharp, one flat, no sharps or flats) and time signatures (common time, 2/4, 3/4). Measures are separated by vertical bar lines, and some measures contain slurs or fermatas.

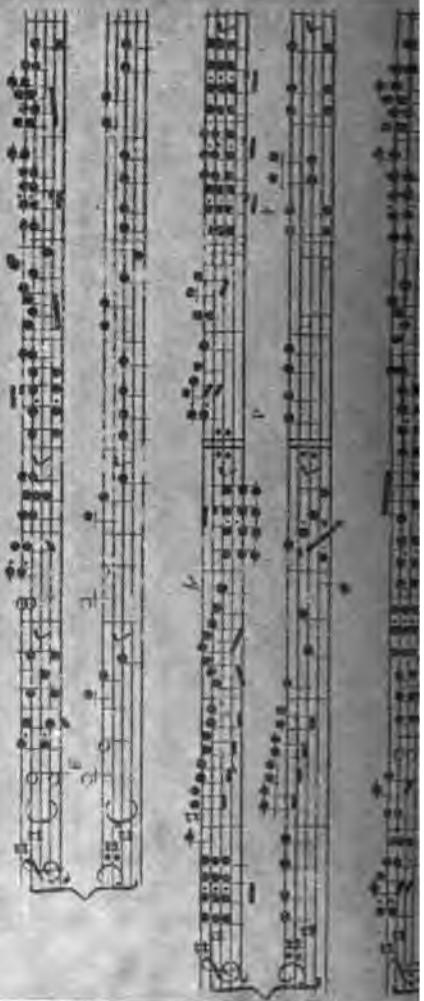
"S "GENTLEMAN'S AMUSEMENT."

**204**



# PRESIDENTS MARCH.

PHILADELPHIA. Printed and sold by G. Witten, No. 20, Post N<sup>o</sup> 185.



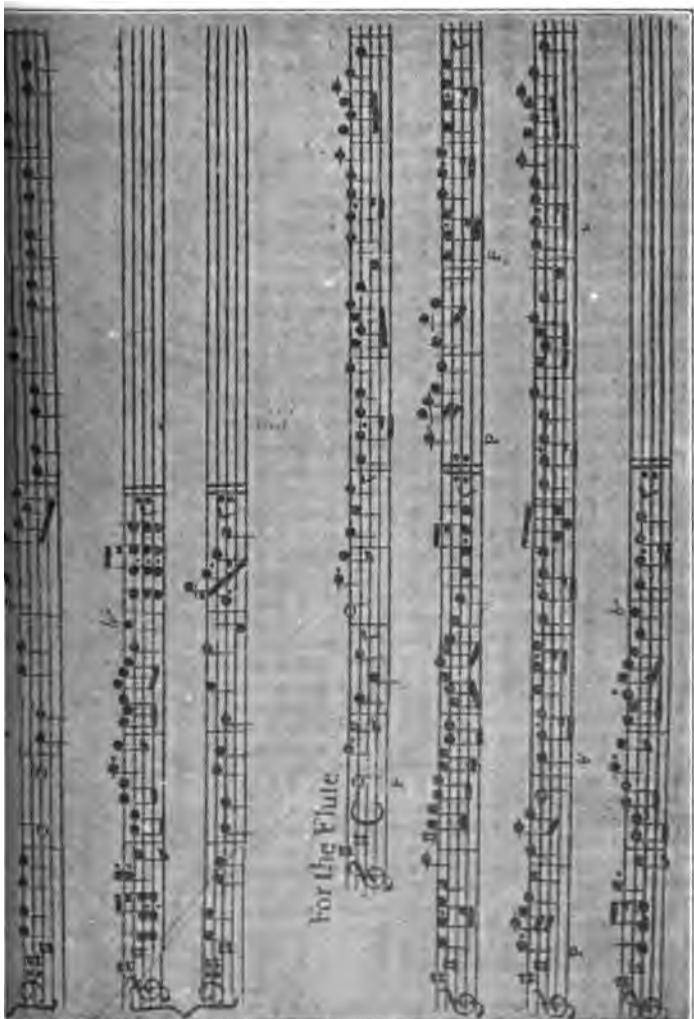


PLATE XII.—WILLIG'S EDITION, PUBLISHED BETWEEN 1798 AND 1803.



०५०



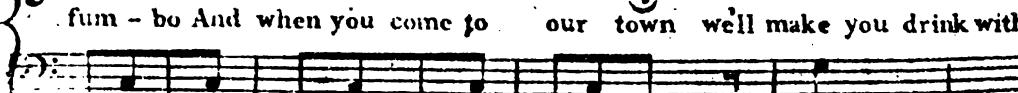
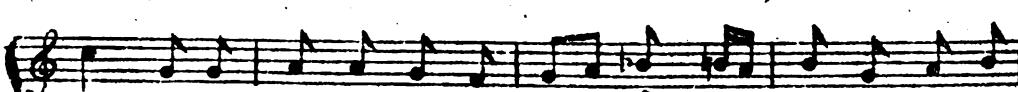
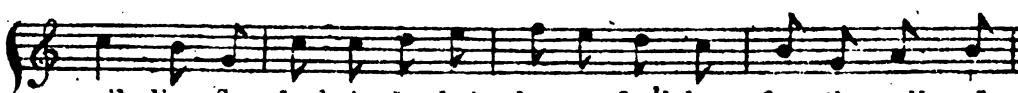
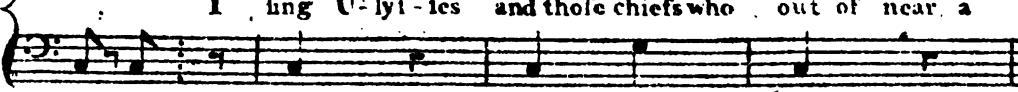
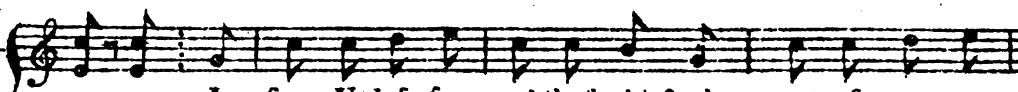
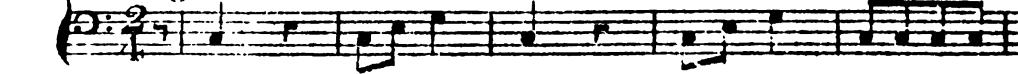


PLATE XIII.—FRAGMENT OF A MUSIC COLLECTION IN THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS, PUBLISHED PROBABLY IN 1793.





# The return of ULYSSES to ITHACA





2

Who having taken sack'd and burnt that very first of Cities,  
Return'd in triumph while the Bards, all struck up amorous ditties.  
Such a Yankee doodle &c.

3

The Cyclops first we visited, Ulysses made him cry out,  
For he eat his mutton, drank his wine, and then he pok'd his eye out.  
Yankee doodle &c.

4

From thence we went to Circe's land, who faith a girl of spunk is,  
For she made us drunk, an chang'd us all to asies goats and monkies.  
Yankee doodle &c.

5

And then to hell and back again, then where the Syrens Cara  
Swell cadence, tril and shake, almost as well as Madam Mara.  
Yankee doodle &c.

6

To fell Charybdis next, and then where yawning Scylla grapples,  
Six men at once and eats them all, just like so many apples.  
Yankee doodle &c.

7

From thence to where Appollo's bulls and sheep all play and skip so,  
From whence Ulysses went alone to the Island of Calypso.  
Yankee doodle &c..

8

And there he kiss'd and toy'd and play'd, tis true upon my life Sir,  
Till having turn'd his mistress off he's coming to his wife Sir.  
Yankee doodle doodle doo black Negro he get sumbo,  
And when you come to our town, we'll make you drunk with humbo.





26

Ann. IV.

VIVACE.

oh so rusty, Dupid, queer, and mumpy b - gash if you don't  
Lumpy, thumpys thwack and bump, Pummel you and bomp—O!

L.P. F.P.

2.  
Did little Dicky  
Ever trick yet?  
No — I'm always civil  
Then why should you, for my politeness,  
With me at the devil?  
Crufty, rusty, blunt and poor,  
Did I ever trick yet?  
Fudy, muffy, turn me out?  
Oh, poor, civil Dicky?

PLATE XVI.—FROM DR. ARNOLD

MR. EDWIN.

YANKEE DOODLE.  
DICKY DITTO.

Adzooka, old Crutty.

mend your manners, Somebody will jump you.

Humpy, humpy, make you mump; Kick a-bout your jump—O!

3.

A receipt I'll give,  
But as I live,  
I'd rather give him blows, Sir.  
At St. Giles's he was bred,  
Altho' he wears good cloaths, Sir,  
Noodie, doodle, ugly man,  
Here's a pretty rig, Sir.  
Daggers, pistols, swords, and guns,  
Oh! I'll hop the twig, Sir.

The musical score consists of two staves of music. The top staff is for 'YANKEE DOODLE' and the bottom staff is for 'DICKY DITTO'. The lyrics are written below the notes. The first section of lyrics is: 'mend your manners, Somebody will jump you.' The second section is: 'Humpy, humpy, make you mump; Kick a-bout your jump—O!' The third section, labeled '3.', contains a poem: 'A receipt I'll give, But as I live, I'd rather give him blows, Sir. At St. Giles's he was bred, Altho' he wears good cloaths, Sir, Noodie, doodle, ugly man, Here's a pretty rig, Sir. Daggers, pistols, swords, and guns, Oh! I'll hop the twig, Sir.'

3 OPERA "TWO TO ONE," 1784.





36 Yanky Doodle.

102

The image shows a handwritten musical score for 'Yanky Doodle'. The title 'Yanky Doodle.' is at the top, with '36' written above it. Below the title is the number '102'. The score consists of six staves of music, each with a treble clef and a key signature of one sharp (G major). The music is in 2/4 time. The notation includes various note heads, stems, and beams, typical of early printed music notation.

PLATE XVII.—FROM JAMES A.



IRD'S "SELECTION," 1782.

224



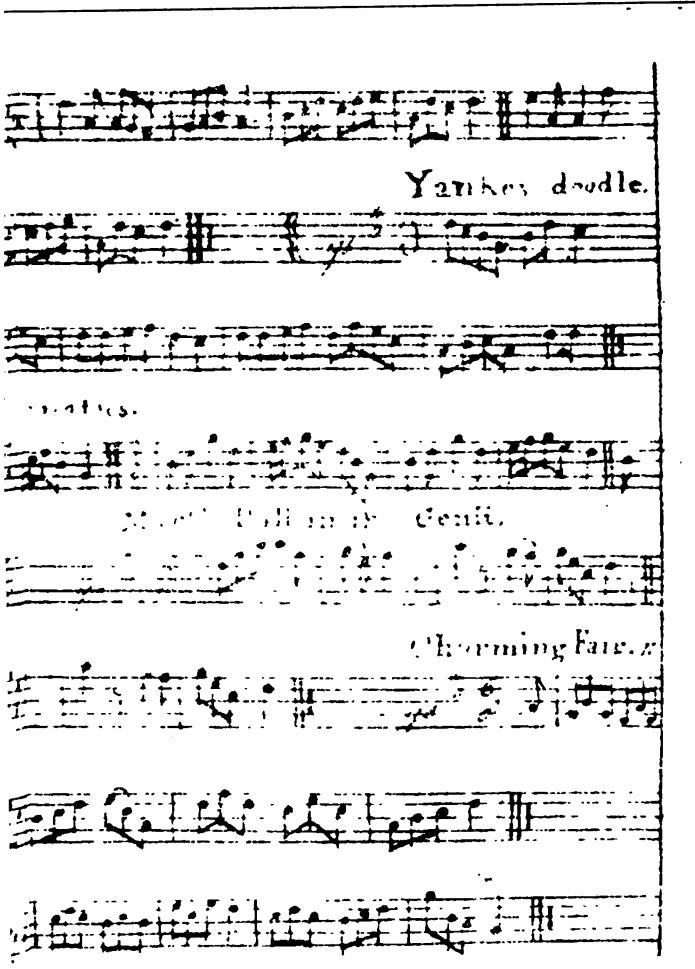
The Seven Stars.

A musical score consisting of six staves of music. The first three staves are labeled "The Seven Stars." The fourth staff is labeled "The Haymakers dance in Four." The fifth staff is labeled "To Arms." The music includes various note heads, stems, and rests, typical of early printed music notation.

The Haymakers dance in Four

To Arms.

PLATE XVIII.—FROM "WH."



Yankee doodle.

notes.

Mary Queen of Scotts.

Charming Fair.





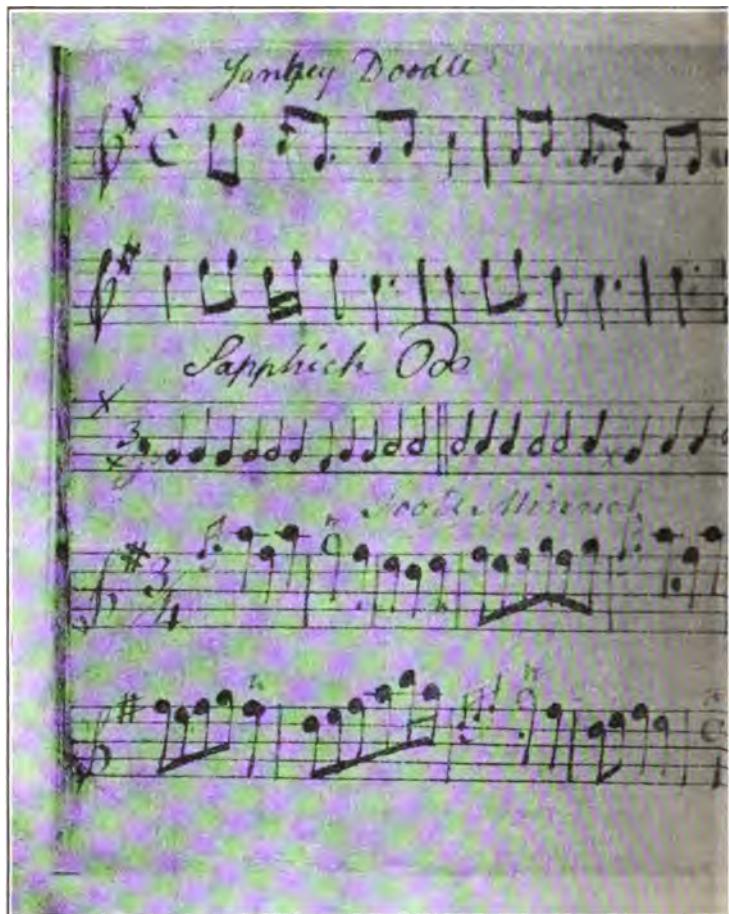


PLATE XIX.—FROM A MSS. COLLECTION ATTACHED TO AN INCOMPLETE COPY



OF THOMAS WALTER'S "GROUNDS AND RULES OF MUSICK," BOSTON, 1760.





**YANKEE DOODLE,** or  
 (as now Christened by the SAINTS of New England)  
**THE LEXINGTON MARCH**

**N.B.** The Words to be Sung thro' the Nose, & in the West Country drawl & dialect.



Butter Milk and Honey,  
Boston is a Yankee town  
Sing Hey Doodle Dandy;  
First will take a Pinch of Snuff  
And then a drink of Water,  
And then will say How do you do  
And that's a Yank'y Supper  
Aminadab is just come Home  
His Eyes all Great with Bacon  
And all the news that he could tell  
If Cape Breton is taken;  
Stand up Jonathan  
Figure in thy Neighbour's  
Nathan stand a little off  
And make the Room some wider  
Christmas is a coming Boys  
Well go to Mother Caudle's  
And there we'll get a Sugar Dream  
Sweetend with Melasses;  
Height he for our Cape Cod,  
Height he Mainicket,  
Do not let the Boston wags  
Feel your Oyster Basket.

And so is Apple Lantern's  
Had you been whipped as oft as I  
You'd not have been so wanton;  
Uncle is a Yankee Man  
Faith he pays us all off,  
And he has got a Fiddle  
As big as Daddy's Hogs Trough.  
Self Mother went to Lynn  
To buy a pair of Breeches  
The first time Vaibes put them on  
He tore out all the Stitches;  
Dolly Befhal Jenny Jones the found it,  
Anthonie carried it to Will  
Where Doctor Warren ground it.  
Our Jerimias lost her Mare  
And can't tell where to find her,  
But thall come trotting by and by  
And bring her Tail behind her.

## THE LEXINGTON MARCH

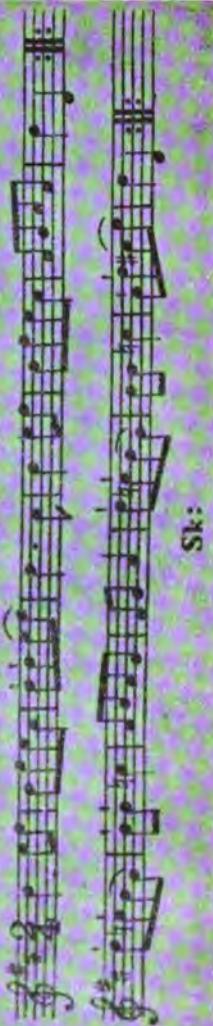


PLATE XX.—BY PERMISSION OF MR. JOHN RITCHIE, JR., OF BOSTON, MASS.

**236**





# THE YANKEES

RETURN FROM CAMP.



FATHER and I went down to camp,  
Along with Captain Gooding;  
There we see the men and boys,  
As thick as lousy pudding.  
Yankee doodle, keep it up,  
Yankee doodle, doodle;  
Mold the main and the step,  
And with the girls be happy.  
And there we see a thousand men,  
As rich as "Squire David";  
And what they wanted every day,  
I wish it could be saved.

Yankee doodle, dudle,  
The Yankees they eat every day,  
World born and home a riot.

And struck a uncoked ribbing iron  
Upon the little end o' it,  
Yankee doodle, Yes,  
And there I see a napping Snell  
As big as mother's leg;  
As big as mother's leg,  
And everyone they think is well,  
They conquer'd like its nation.  
Yankee doodle, Yes,  
I see a little buried boy,  
This hands were made of leather,  
They knocked up his head with him clubs,  
And call'd the fellas higher.  
Yankee doodle, dudle,  
And there was Captain Washington,  
And made them a riot.



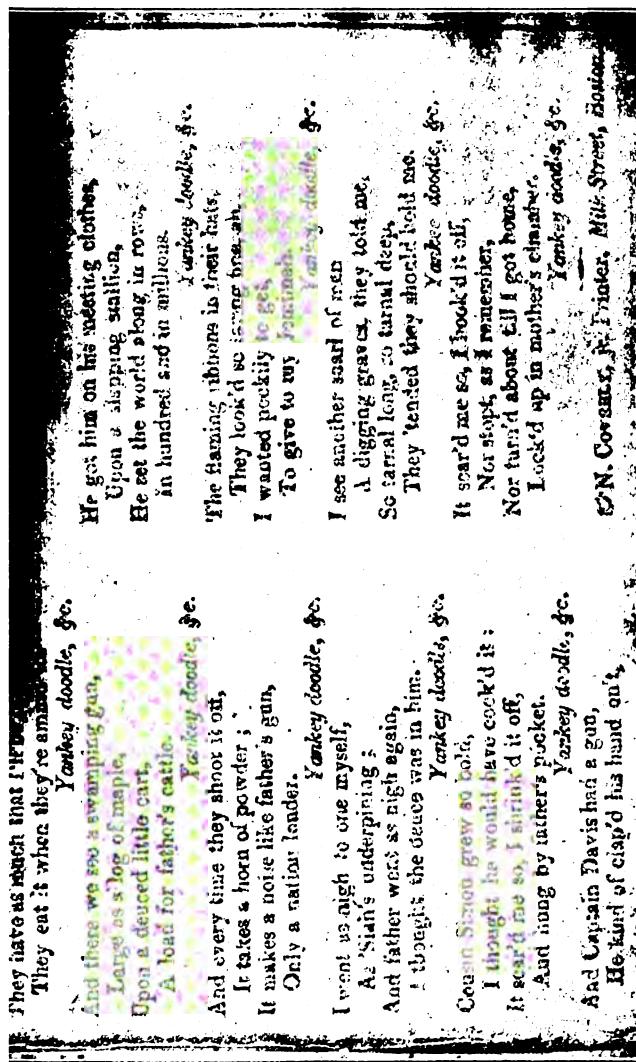


PLATE XXI.—BROADSIDE IN POSSESSION OF THE A. A. S., WORCESTER, MASS.





## THE YANKEY'S RETURN FROM CAMP.

Together with the favorite Song of the BLACK BIRD.

**E**ARLY one morning for soft recreation,  
I heard a young damsæ a making her moan,  
And sighing and sobbing with sad lamentation,  
Crying alas, my black bird is gone.  
It was once in fair England my black bird did flourish,  
He was the prime flower that in it did spring,  
Prim ladies of honour his person did nourish,  
Because that he was the true son of a king.  
The birds of the forest do all flock together,  
The turtle was chose to dwell with the dove,  
And I am resolved come fair or foul weather,  
Once in the spring for to seek out my love.  
For he's my heart's treasure, my joy and my pleasure,  
My heart is fixed on no oac but he,  
He's constant, he's kind, he's courageous in mind,  
And deserving all blessing wherever he be.  
It's not the wide ocean shall fright me with danger,  
Although like a pilgrim I wanter forlorn,  
I might seek more friendship from one that's a stranger,  
Than from any one that's a true Briton born.  
But since cruel fortune has been so uncertain,  
Has caused a parting between him and me,  
May heaven so spacious to Britons be gracious,  
Although some are odious to him and to me.  
And if that my black bird proves false and inconstant,  
Yet no one will I ever receive but he,  
His name shall remain bold in France and in Spain.

Upon a deuid little cart,  
A lead for father's cattle.  
*Yankey doodle, &c,*  
And every time they shoot it off,  
It takes a horn of powder,  
And makes a noise like father's gun,  
*Only a nation louder.*  
*Yankey doodle, &c,*  
I went as nigh to one Davis,  
As siah's underpinning,  
And father went as nigh again,  
I thought the deuce was in him.  
*Yankey doodle, &c,*  
Cousin simon grew so bold,  
I thought he would have cocked it ;  
It scar'd me so I shrirk'd it off,  
And hung by father's pocket.  
*Yankey doodle, &c,*  
And Captain Davis had a gun,  
He kind of clap'd his hand on't,  
And stuck a crooked stabbing iron  
Upon the little end on't.  
*Yankey doodle, &c,*  
And there I see a pumpkin shell,  
As big as mother a bacon,  
And every time they touch'd it off,  
They stamp'd like the nation.

And if that the fowler my black bird has taken,  
Sighing and sobbing shall be all my tune,  
But if he's not taken, then I'm not forsaken,  
Hoping to meet him in May or in June.  
For him through the world undaunted with care,  
I can go, for I love him to such a degree,  
With fame and renown and laurel'd crown  
My true love with honour, wherever he be.

*THE TANKEY'S RETURN from CAMP.*

FATHER and I went down to camp,  
Along with Captain Gooding,  
And there we see the men and boys,  
As thick as hairy-pudding,  
Chorus. *Tankey double, keep it up,*  
*Tankey double, dandy,*  
*Mind the warrie and the step,*  
*And with the girls be happy,*

And there we see a thousand men,  
As rich as "Squire David"  
And what they wanted every day,  
I wish it could be avowed.

*Tankey double, &c.,*  
The slaves they eat every day,  
Would keep an house a winter:  
They have as much that I'll be bound  
They eat it when they're a mind to.  
*Tankey double, &c.,*  
And there we see a swamping gun,  
Large as a log of maple,

I aye a little barrel too,  
The heads were made of leather,  
They knock'd upon't with little clubs,  
And gall'd the scotols together,  
*Tankey double, &c.,*  
And there was Captain Washington,  
And gentlefolks about him,  
They say he's grown so tall proud,  
He will not ride without 'em.

*Tankey double, &c.,*  
He got him on his meeting cloather,  
Upon a shapping stallion,  
He set the world along, in rows,  
Is hundreds and in millions,  
*Tankey double, &c.,*  
The flaming ribbons in his hat,  
They look'd so caring fine ah,  
I wanted pocketly to get,  
To give to my Jemimah.

*Tankey double, &c.,*  
I see another stirl of men  
A digging graves, they told me,  
So tall long, so tall and deep,  
They tended they should hold me,  
*Tankey double, &c.,*  
It scard me so, I hook'd it off,  
Nor stop'd, as I remember,  
Nor run'd about 'till I got home,  
*Tankey double, &c.,*  
Lock'd up in mother's chamber.

PLATE XXII.—BROADSIDE IN POSSESSION OF THE A. A. S., WORCESTER, MASS.







The Farmer and his Son's return from a visit to the CAMP.

And back a crooked path lies if you  
pon the little end of it.

Yankee doodle, da  
And there'll be

And as much as I can, I do my best to make sure that our traffic is the best.

They came, and the children  
had many games.

For a boy to have his  
head shaved off  
is a very bad  
thing.

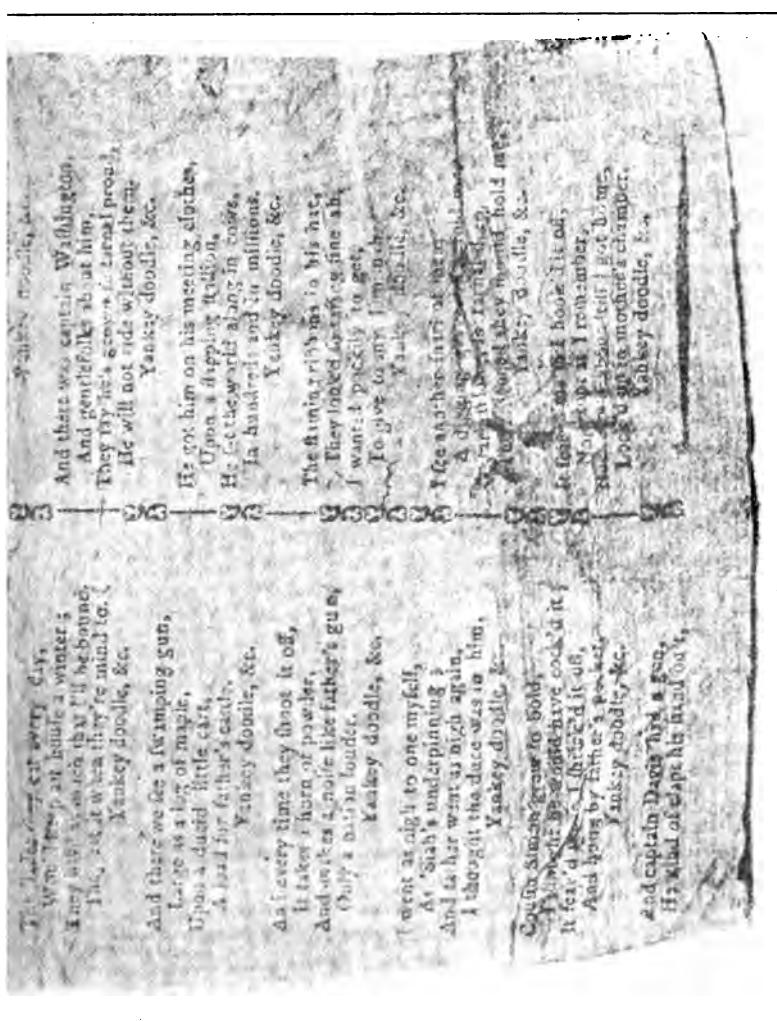


PLATE XXIII.—PROBABLY ORIGINAL EDITION OF "FATHER AND I WENT DOWN TO CAMP," 1775 OR 1776.



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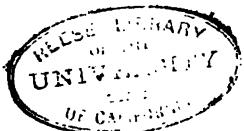
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